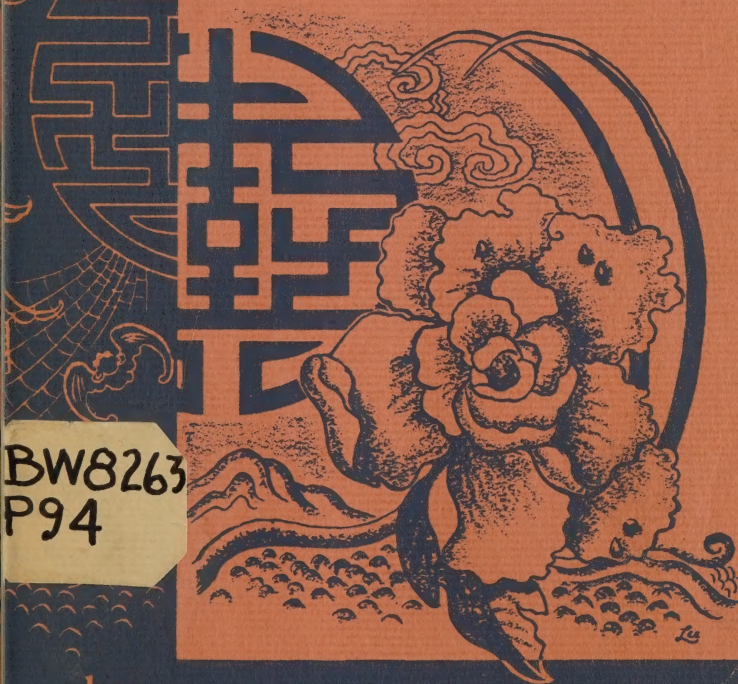


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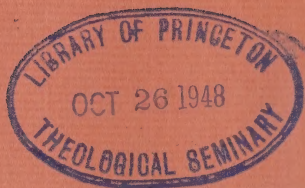
China, twilight or dawn?

CHINA TWILIGHT OR DAWN?



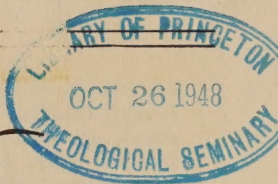
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CHINA



Twilight or Dawn?

by FRANK W. PRICE

FRIENDSHIP PRESS

New York

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FRANK W. PRICE was born of missionary parents at Kashing, Chekiang. He attended both American and Chinese schools, but came to the United States for college work at Davidson College, from which he was graduated with an A.B. degree. He received his M.A. degree from Columbia University and the degrees of B.D. and Ph.D. from Yale.

He has been a missionary to China of the Presbyterian Church in the United States since 1923. He was for two years a professor at Hangchow Christian University. His longest connection has been with the Nanking Theological Seminary, in which his mission board is one of the cooperating bodies. He is professor of religious education and chairman of the Rural Church Department.

The work for which Dr. Price is best known is the training of ministers for the rural church. On returning to China in the spring of 1948, he will take up new work as a secretary of the Church of Christ in China.

Dr. Price was a delegate to the conference on the Life and Work of the Church at Oxford in 1937, to the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Madras in 1938 and also to its conference at Whitby, Canada, in 1947.

Translator of many Chinese works, he has also served as editor of *Wartime China as Seen by Westerners* (1942), and co-editor of *China Rediscovered Her West* (1940).

He is author of *The Rural Church in China*, *We Went to West China*, and *As the Lightning Flashes — A New Era for Christian Missions* (Sprunt Lectures 1948).

FOREWORD

To write a book on China nowadays is like trying to describe the course of a swiftly moving typhoon that has already cut a wide swath and is whirling on with uncertain force in an uncertain direction. Fortunately, this book is not supposed to be a newspaper story of current events, which would be out of date tomorrow, but rather an interpretation of the great changes that external conflicts and internal strains have forced upon an age-old civilization and the significance of these changes for the world and the Christian missionary enterprise. The war and its aftermath are pictured in the setting of China's long history and cultural evolution and upon the background of Asia as a whole. It is impossible to understand modern China without some study of Chinese history and civilization and of China's important position in the Far East.

China is my adopted land, and I have written not only as a spectator of the mighty drama there but also as one of many million participants. It was my privilege to live and serve in Nanking before 1937, in Free China during the tumultuous war years, and again in East China after V-J Day. Schlegel said, "The historian is a prophet looking backwards." I do not pose as a historian but I have tried to tell faithfully some of the things that I have seen and heard and felt and to look not only backward but forward. The past decade with all its sufferings and losses has only strengthened my pride in and love for China and her people, and though the immediate fu-

ture is confused and disquieting I have unbounded faith that a new China will emerge.

I have written as a missionary who believes in the purpose and program of world-wide Christian missions and in the universal church that is growing today as a fruit of the missionary spirit. The church in China has a vital place in this international Christian fellowship. To be associated with this young, growing, brave, and promising church at a time of such danger and opportunity is a joy and inspiration.

The first four chapters of this book deal chiefly with the political, economic, social, and cultural situation in China during and since the Sino-Japanese War, and the international implications of China's struggle. In chapters five to eight I have endeavored to appraise the effect of the war upon the Chinese church and the new difficulties and challenges that confront this church and its leaders. I have made a few references to the Roman Catholic Church in China, which also had a fine record of wartime service, but since this book is about and for the Protestant Church the words, "Christianity," "church," etc. refer, except where otherwise indicated, to Chinese Protestantism.

Like all missionaries on furlough I have been asked a great many questions about China. I have tried in this book to answer the most common of these and to keep in mind both men and women of the church, adults and youth, the intelligent and warmhearted supporters of missions, and those whose interest in China is still of a more general nature. I have sought the advice and help of many wise and experienced co-workers and friends and have checked carefully on facts, names, and figures. To be objective, realistic, and fair in a book on China today is not easy; I can only say that I have made the attempt. The point of view, the interpretations, and

conclusions are my own, and I take full responsibility for them. China is so large, the changes taking place are so cataclysmic, our perspective is so limited, that any generalizations and prophecies are hazardous. Where facts end faith begins, and I do not apologize for my faith in China's future.

Each chapter is a unit and may be studied as such. If the book is used in study groups and not all chapters can be covered, a selection may be made without loss of continuity. I have placed some questions for thought within the chapters. Questions for leaders of discussion groups will be found in *A Guide for Leaders of Adult Groups on China in the Asia of Today*, by Margaret Shannon.

I have not tried to write a detailed history nor a complete report about China and the Chinese church during the past ten years. Due to limited space much of interest and value has had to be left out. The material selected, the illustrations used, the personalities described, are suggestive rather than exhaustive. The book is prepared for popular reading rather than for university classes and research libraries, and has the limitations of such writing. On the other hand, a book for the general church public may be more informal in style, and I have imagined myself talking to thousands of old and new friends in the United States and Canada about the land that is so dear to me and for which I have such tremendous hopes. I saw, too, as I wrote, the innumerable friends in China who have enriched my life and strengthened my spirit; their thoughts and feelings, trials and aspirations, encouragement and love are woven into every page. For these reasons the reader will, I am sure, understand and forgive the many personal impressions and experiences that are used.

Another personal reference must be to the members of my dear family. To E.M.P., M.V.P., and F.W.P. Jr., who shared

the war years in our West China home, I dedicate this book on China today.

A page of acknowledgments to those in the United States and China who furnished valuable material and suggestions for this book has to be omitted for lack of space. To all these many friends who cooperated I wish to express my appreciation.

I should like to conclude this Foreword and introduce the book with a quotation from my honored teacher and friend, Dr. Kenneth S. Latourette, written in 1933.

The largest fairly homogeneous group of mankind is experiencing the most thoroughgoing and destructive revolution in its history. . . . The full outcome will not be clearly seen for at least a generation and probably very much longer. So shattering an experience to so large a body of mankind cannot be passed through quickly. . . . The world should not lose faith in China if the process requires centuries. Many of us who have known and loved the Chinese have a hopeful confidence in the ultimate result and base it upon what we know of Chinese history and of individual Chinese today. . . . Remembering as we do the ability which the Chinese have shown in the past to construct a civilization we believe that they will ultimately recover from the stunning blows dealt them and will once more create a worthy culture. . . . The next century or more probably has in store as intense sufferings as the Chinese have ever known. Some of us, however, are not without faith that these will prove the birth pangs of a yet greater China—even though we cannot now clearly discern its features.¹

F. W. P.

Richmond, Virginia
January 2, 1948

¹ All explanatory notes will be found in the section beginning on page 168.

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*On the baffling ways of earth
Myriad creeds are locked in strife.
I do not know each creed's true worth
For the narrow road of life.
Saviour, let thy Cross for me
Compass be, due south, to thee.*

— Chinese hymn with Chinese tune, No. 350 in
Hymns of Universal Praise, Shanghai.
Translated by Winifred Galbraith.

CHAPTER ONE

FLYING OVER HISTORY

WE FLEW OVER HISTORY — ANCIENT HISTORY AND MODERN history in the making — Yunnan Province, fascinating “ethnological garden” with its aboriginal mountain tribes, descendants of Ming Dynasty immigrant families, wartime refugees from every part of China, and newly arrived American soldiers; sapphire blue waters of Erh Hai, lovely lake of Southwest China to whose shores in the thirteenth century came Kublai Khan’s conquering Mongols and the European adventurer Marco Polo. Now, seven hundred years later, a Christian college — Hua Chung, driven inland by the Japanese invasion, had ended its long trek in a village on this lake, and five-ton motor trucks loaded with war supplies roared through near-by Tali day and night.

Our Chinese commercial plane climbed steadily and crossed the jagged, dangerous “Hump” at fifteen thousand feet. The pilot sighted enemy planes and took us on a sudden nose dive into the jungle-covered valleys on the Assam side. As we flew on toward Calcutta the immense white ranges and peaks of the Himalayas glistened on the northern horizon. There between India, Burma, and China towers the most forbidding mountain frontier in the world, pierced by only a few high icy passes and deep, precipitous river canyons.

Yet even before the time of Christ mule caravans threaded the narrow trails that served as trade routes, while Indian and Chinese cultures influenced each other through visits back and

forth of daring pilgrims. A great Indian scholar reached the imperial court of China in 67 A.D. In the fifth century the famous Chinese scholar Fa Hsien and in the seventh century Hsuan Tsang journeyed through Central Asia into Northwest India and brought back stories of Indian life that still delight Chinese readers, together with valuable Buddhist classics for translation into the Chinese language. In the eighth century the first and only attempt of a Chinese army to cross the Pamir Plateau, "roof of the world," into India was checked, and since then no military conflicts have marred the happy relations of these two neighboring peoples.

In recent centuries, however, China and India have looked rather toward their seas and the Occident beyond them. World War II broke down agelong barriers of nature and linked Delhi by a few hours of air travel with Chungking. "Asia is one. The Himalayas divide only to unite." ¹ Nehru of India, who made a flying visit to West China in August, 1939, said, "The wheel of fate has turned full circle and again India and China look toward each other and past memories crowd in their minds." ² In the spring of 1942 Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek were welcomed to India. These famous flights and hundreds of thousands of other unpublicized ones have woven a new pattern of friendship between two ancient, changing civilizations of Asia.

I went into West China early in the war by two back-door routes, the Burma Road and the Indo-China-Yunnan Railway.

The Burma Road was named for China's southwest neighbor, which before the war had already built a highway from the great rice port of Rangoon to the China border. From there on to Kunming the 660 miles of road were almost entirely new construction by Chinese engineers and mountain laborers,

one of the most amazing engineering feats of modern times.

Driving through fertile Burma, where "you tickle the ground with a hoe and it laughs with a harvest," we noticed Chinese restaurant and shop signs everywhere. Nearly half a million Chinese lived among the fifteen million Burmese whose ancestors in the dim past were probably Mongolian and Tibetan tribesmen. Once, history records, twelve thousand of Kublai Khan's archers fought two thousand mounted war elephants of a Burmese king, and for a time Burma sent tribute to the imperial court in China. At other times the Burmese have shown resentment at Chinese influence or fear of growing Chinese immigration.

The Burmese border, wild and malarial, has never been a main frontier for China. But wartime communications, the Burma Road, a partly completed railway, the new airways, Burmese good-will missions to Chungking, and Chinese interest in Burmese national independence have all strengthened the natural ties between China and the courteous, cultured, freedom-loving people of Burma. In the future Burma will not only be a nearer and more accessible neighbor and friend but also an important way station between China and India.

Again in 1939 I journeyed into Free China through French Indo-China on the narrow-gauge railway between Hanoi and Kunming and thence by highway to Chengtu. The trip from Shanghai by steamer, train, and truck, in the company of my own family, took a month and a day. After the war we flew from Chungking back to Shanghai in six hours!

The railway climbed and twisted, crossed innumerable bridges and viaducts, and passed through 155 tunnels on the second day from the steamy tropical valleys of Annam (a province of Indo-China) to the Kunming plateau six thousand feet above sea level.

In Indo-China, especially densely populated Annam, evidences of Chinese cultural influence are very marked. We saw Chinese ideographs on signboards and public bulletin boards and recognized interesting similarities in the spoken languages of China and Annam. We met Chinese rice merchants, lumbermen, laborers, and students on our train, and talked with them in a mixture of French, English, and Chinese. The Annamese are for the most part descended from South China immigrants. This heritage, together with ten centuries of intermittent Chinese domination, has left a permanent imprint upon Indonese civilization. French penetration and colonial rule after the war of 1883-84 ended China's nominal suzerainty, but China's friendship for Indo-China and sympathy with the nationalistic aspirations of her twenty-four million people are stronger than ever before.

Other land neighbors of China across the southern border are Siam (Thailand) and Malaya. My friend Marcus Cheng was caught in Singapore at the time of the Japanese occupation. He had been conducting a preaching mission there among the Chinese who make up three-fourths of the population of that strategic and cosmopolitan port. After two years in custody he was unexpectedly given a Japanese Army pass to travel northward, preaching to Chinese churches in Malaya and Siam. With the help of friends he finally escaped over the border into China and rejoined his family after a long and anxious absence. I saw him when he arrived in Chungking and was struck by his remark that, although he had been away from China under the surveillance of the enemy, he had never been out of touch with fellow nationals.

In Malaya, jungle of tropical plants and jumble of Eastern races, Chinese investments in rubber plantations, mines, and other business enterprises are second only to those of the

British. More than three-fourths of the miners and factory workers are Chinese. The most successful Christian missionary effort has been with the Chinese immigrant population.

In Siam more than one-tenth of the people are of Chinese descent, in Bangkok one-fourth. They open restaurants and teashops, run sawmills and pawnshops, construct houses and roads, and furnish labor for mines and plantations. Their industry and aggressiveness from time to time have provoked jealousy and even animosity on the part of the Siamese people, and severe regulations have in turn led to strained relations. But the people of China and Siam are fundamentally good-natured toward each other and proud of each other's development. In 1943 Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek broadcast a message of encouragement to the Siamese people under Japanese oppression, reminding them of a thousand years of interdependence and calling Siam "our sister country."

INNER ASIA

Wendell Willkie and other notable visitors entered China during the war from the northwest. They, too, flew over reminders of a faraway yesterday and signs of a turbulent today. Willkie's plane brought him from Moscow, Kuibyshev, Tashkent in Siberia, over strangely beautiful steppes, mountains, deserts, and oases, to Tihwa (Urumchi), capital of Sinkiang, China's "New Dominion." The five-hour flight from Tihwa to Lanchow (camel caravans take 70 days) showed him such limitless expanse of country, rich pasture lands, and undeveloped mineral mountains that he was reminded of our American West in pioneer days. This is also historic territory traversed by the old caravan or "Silk Road" from China to Central Asia, Persia, and the Mediterranean. No other road in ancient history has been so far-famed, so fraught with

romance, so important in international trade and in the diffusion of religions, arts, and sciences. Here Nestorian Christianity and Mohammedanism, more than a thousand years ago, entered China. Nestorianism disappeared, but the Moslems today are a powerful group in China's northwest provinces.

A Venetian traveler of the middle ages traveled the Silk Road and after twenty-four years of absence from Europe left for posterity the incomparable *Travels of Marco Polo*. An American of the twentieth century flew over Europe and along part of this road into China and back to his own country; after forty-nine days away he wrote a modern classic, *One World*.³

Airplanes flashed across the sky above, but the old Silk Road was still used during the war, and became another international highway into China second only to the Burma and Stilwell Roads in importance. Camel trains brought in gasoline and airplane parts from Soviet Russia and took back wool, furs, and tea. Oil was discovered in Kansu and Sinkiang, and Chinese trucks drove deep into the northwest territory. After Germany launched her attack on Russia, supplies from Russia diminished, and control by the Chinese National Government began to supplant the Russian influence of the previous decade. Much history will yet be written in this heartland of Asia far from any sea, where Turki Moslems, old Mongolians, border tribesmen, Chinese of varied types, and Russian Marxists rub shoulders, and where China stands face to face with her giant neighbor, the U.S.S.R.

Between China and Asiatic Russia, or Siberia, is the longest international boundary anywhere in the world, nearly five thousand miles. For more than two millenniums China has felt the pressure of invaders from the north. The Great Wall was built in the third century B.C. to protect the empire against

nomad tribes. Four alien dynasties, including the Yüan (Mongol) and the Ch'ing (Manchu) came from beyond the wall to rule the empire.⁴ But Russia is a comparatively new phenomenon in China's international history. Russian expansion into frozen but rich Siberia began in the sixteenth century and reached a climax when Russia joined the mad scramble of Western imperialist powers for special rights in China during the nineteenth century, securing railway construction privileges and access to the ports of southern Manchuria. These vital concessions at the head of the new Trans-Siberian Railway made Russia a new force to reckon with in the Far East. Then Japan, by military victory in 1905, snatched away Russia's new prizes. Forty years later Japan, defeated in World War II, returned them nominally to China but actually to Russia. Again Russia looms as a great colossus against China's northern sky.

Today China's Great Wall is besieged not by armed nomads or swift horsemen but by powerful, revolutionary ideas. The Red horizon casts a disturbing glow over all of eastern Asia. The thunder of the Russian Revolution still reverberates in China and begins to sound in India and Korea. A clever and strong Chinese Communist party capitalizes upon the poverty of the Chinese masses and the restlessness that always follows an exhausting war and seeks to push all China into the widening Russian orbit. Will the long Russo-Chinese border be one of fear or of friendship, one of war or of peace? Upon the future of China's internal struggle and foreign relations with Russia depends in great measure the peace of Asia and of the world during the second half of this century.

China has one more continental neighbor in a "hot corner" of Asia where big power politics have so often clashed. The gentle and attractive people of little Korea have many af-

finities with the Chinese and the influence of Chinese language, culture, and religion has been strong upon them. Political relations between the two countries have not always been so happy, but during the present century Korea has had no more understanding and sympathetic friend in her struggle for independence than China.

CHINESE INFLUENCE AFAR

Oceans and seas on the east and south, like the mountains and deserts on western and northern frontiers, have tended to shut China in and make difficult her intercourse with Asiatic neighbors. And yet the pioneering people of South China, though not born lovers of the sea like the ancient Romans or the modern British and Japanese, have for centuries braved the deep in gaily decorated junks with patchwork sails. Chinese traders and colonists voyaged to Nan Yang (the South Seas), Malaysia, and India as early as 200 A.D. The T'ang Dynasty (at the beginning of the European Dark Ages) saw great developments in seaborne commerce and cultural exchange between China and Japan, and Japan drew heavily on the Chinese language, philosophy, and art. The Spanish in the sixteenth century found Chinese settlers living in the Philippine Islands; the Dutch three hundred years ago found Chinese merchants firmly entrenched in the East Indies. The island of Formosa off the Chinese mainland was settled largely by emigrants from Fukien Province. New commercial opportunities overseas had led to waves of Chinese migration and frequent employment of Chinese contract labor. Today millions of Chinese, engaged in all kinds of business and manual work, may be found in the myriad islands of Southeast Asia and Oceania and as far east as Fiji, the Samoans, and the Hawaiian Islands.

Filipino civilization has been influenced as much by China as by Spain or the United States. Today the largest alien group in the Philippines is Chinese, sixty thousand strong. Besides these there are nearly a million mestizos, descendants of mixed marriages, who have contributed richly to Filipino leadership. Nowhere else have Chinese immigrants been so thoroughly absorbed into another race or culture. At the present time, because of past history — the bitter struggle in which both nations engaged against Japanese aggression and common aspirations for independence and democracy — the cultural and spiritual bonds between China and the new Philippine Commonwealth are remarkably strong.

Some historians declare that China was imperialistic in periods of geographic expansion and guilty of economic aggression in the South Seas. Almost every nation in the world has been aggressive at times in its history; certainly the United States of America is not innocent. The question is, what are policies and trends today? As we look at Chinese business colonies overseas we find that they are more like ancient Greek colonies than Roman colonies, or like the Hanseatic League of medieval Germany. They carry with them Chinese commercial and cultural influences rather than any kind of political control. As racial minorities they play an active part in the economic development of their adopted countries; at the same time they maintain close ties with villages, clans, and ancestral halls in their fatherland. They send back generous donations to political, educational, and philanthropic causes in China, pass on Chinese traditions and ideals to their children, and contribute a stream of fresh, capable personnel to many professions in China.

One cultural wave after another has swept over Indonesia, where today more than twenty-five different languages are

spoken. The main stock is Malay and Negrito. But early Mongolian influences, centuries of Hindu domination, the Mohammedan conquest six hundred years ago (which established the Moslem faith as the dominant religion), three centuries of Dutch rule, and the growth of Chinese minorities have produced a colorful ethnological mosaic. China is tied to Indonesia not only by the great number of her loyal children who live there but also by her profound interest in the liberation of this region from Western colonial rule and its participation in Pan-Asiatic programs of mutual aid and progress. The Chinese church has a warm concern for the South Sea Islands because of its missionary efforts there, the growing number of Christians among the Chinese population, and their generous gifts to Christian churches and schools on the mainland as well as in the islands.

Near the China-India frontier in Tibet is a unique divide where within a radius of one hundred miles may be seen the headwaters of four mighty rivers that radiate through Asia — the Brahmaputra southwestward through India, the Salween southward through Burma, the Yangtze eastward through China toward Japan, and the Mekong between Siam and Indo-China into the South Seas. In the same way cultural influences from China and India have flowed in all directions through Asia. Chinese and Indian scholars and philosophers have been the Greeks of the East.

A VIEW OF ASIA

Today, says J. F. Normano, "Asia is the center of the world. Geographically Europe is her annex, Africa a sub-continent, Australia her island."⁵ Owen Lattimore is even more emphatic: "It is the importance of Asia which makes this war a watershed [dividing two periods of history]. . . .

Things happening in Asia, opinions formed in Asia, and decisions made in Asia, will largely determine the course of events everywhere in the world.”⁶

Fly with me in your imagination over this new Asia to which China belongs.

1. Look at the size of Asia, larger than North and South America together, larger than Europe and Africa combined. Here is one-third of the land area of the globe.

2. See Asia's varied landscape and scenery. Here are the greatest mountain ranges in the world, the highest mountain peaks, and seven of the world's longest rivers. The Yangtze and Ganges are the most densely populated river valleys on earth. Asia has room for immense deserts, great lakes, vast forests, broad irrigated plains and tablelands three miles above sea level.

3. Picture the population of Asia. Here live nearly two-thirds of the world's people, mostly non-whites. Four out of every ten persons on earth are Chinese or Indians. Although only 10 per cent of all Asia is cultivated the population density is three times that of the rest of the world. Asia nourishes sixty-eight racial groups, highly civilized peoples and also primitive tribes.

4. Consider Asia's history. Here the story of mankind probably began. Here arose the old civilizations of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. Here in the dim past were laid the foundations of Chinese and Indian cultures. Centuries ago the pre-machine civilization of eastern Asia was equal to that of Europe; only in the last two hundred years have Europe and America, because of scientific discoveries and rapid industrialization, made greater material progress.

5. Consider Asia's rich resources. The human resources are most apparent, a vast reservoir of man power. Here are

also extensive and varied agricultural products, undeveloped mineral resources, unused water power, tremendous industrial possibilities, valuable raw materials, and great markets for world trade. Asia is stepping into a new agricultural-industrial era that should raise the standard of living for its now impoverished masses.

6. Asia is the cradle of religions. I have flown several times from Chungking to Cairo, stopping at Calcutta, Karachi, and Basra and passing over Palestine. On such a two-day flight one can look down upon the homelands of Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and Christianity, the world's great religions. No world faith was born in Europe. The world's outstanding religious leaders were nurtured in Asia.

ASIA'S STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Today the continent of Asia has assumed a new and strategic importance in international relations, in problems of world security, in the development of a world culture, and in the strategy of world-wide Christian missions.

1. The Bering Straits are no longer a barrier between America and Asia. The Aleutian Islands are but stepping-stones in this air age. Planes can fly in less than a day from Asia to America over the North Pole. Inland Asia is being opened up by steam navigation on its rivers and by new networks of railways and highways. Central Asia is no longer an unknown, mysterious section of the globe.

2. Asia is throbbing with new life and desire and becoming part of the modern world. Unprecedented political and social changes are taking place. China has overcome the menace of Japanese aggression and has thrown off the shackles of Western imperialism imposed upon her in the nineteenth

century. India was given national freedom on August 15, 1947. The Indonesian Republic is fighting for its life. Asia is in ferment.

3. Asia played a vital role in World War II and has a stake in the winning of peace. All Asia was affected as never before by a war and all Asia longs for a just and enduring peace. The peoples of Asia are being drawn together to face common problems and achieve common ends. The first All-Asiatic Congress met recently in India. Nehru speaks of an Asiatic "Monroe Doctrine."

4. The "Asian Legacy" has enriched our Western life. We are beginning to realize our debt to Asian culture — agriculture, early science and mathematics, literature, arts, and philosophy. Paper, used first in China in the second century, moved across central Asia and was introduced into Europe in the eleventh century. The art of printing, first employed in China in the ninth century to publish a Buddhist sutra, was carried slowly across Central Asia and produced the Gutenberg Bible in Europe six hundred years later.

5. Asia is now a battleground of contending social forces and political ideologies. Swift currents of revolutionary thought and action are rushing through the continent, some above the ground and some below the surface. American and Soviet political philosophies confront each other in Korea. The peoples of Asia face critical choices: democracy or Marxian communism, a capitalistic economy and Western industrial patterns or some kind of cooperative or socialist commonwealth for the welfare of all classes, militarization or peaceful development, interreligious warfare or religious freedom.

6. In Asia Christianity is coming home. In Asia Christianity is fulfilling its world mission. Asia has other faiths, but

no other with such an inherent universalism or such a redemptive message for every race and class. Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism are bound to specific soils or national cultures and have little hope of capturing the heart of all mankind. World Christianity is taking root again in its native Asian soil.

Christianity will enrich and be enriched by the old but still vigorous cultures of Asia. Once Greeks of Europe sought Jesus the Saviour, and Greek thought in turn flowed into and broadened the stream of Christian theology. Today Greeks of the East are seeking Jesus and will bring to his church treasures new and old from their cultural heritage. The Jordan that once flowed into the Aegean and Tiber is now flowing into the Yangtze and Ganges. The simplicity of the gospel with its Asiatic background is better understood by some Oriental Christians than by many sophisticated Occidentals. Asia will bring the glory and honor of its diverse races and civilizations into the new Jerusalem. We can already see the beginning of Oriental Christian art, architecture, music, literature, and liturgy that will add strength and beauty to the thought and life of the world-wide church. "The churches of Asia salute you."

Christianity in the Asia of today is challenged not so much by other religious beliefs as by religious intolerance, secularism, and non-religion; not so much by other religious loyalties as by a fanatical communism that promises a materialistic kingdom of heaven and calls for absolute devotion to its own dogmas of social salvation. Only a faithful, united, courageous, and passionate Christian church can meet the test and bring to Asia the moral and religious regeneration, the high faith, and deathless hope that this great continent and all the continents of the world need.

CHAPTER TWO

CHINA IN TRAVAIL ;

A WIDELY QUOTED STATEMENT ABOUT CHINA IS ONE THAT was made nearly fifty years ago by an American secretary of state, John Hay: "Whoever understands that mighty empire socially, politically, economically, religiously, has a key to world politics for the next five centuries." Few would claim to own such a magic key, but many have tried to understand the past and the present of this ancient civilization and to imagine what its future will be.

THE CHINESE CHARACTER

There is a strange, massive, timeless quality about the land and people of China that fascinates observers. Here we look upon the oldest living culture, the longest unbroken history, the greatest homogenous population, and the second largest territory of any nation in the world today. China was an empire from 221 B.C. to the Revolution of 1911. During these two millenniums brilliant dynasties rose and fell, centuries of literary and artistic creativity alternated with periods of darkness and disorder, the empire sometimes extended its domain and at other times was invaded, but always it was China, "forever China."

Wherever I travel in this old land, watch blue-coated peasants digging in the earth, read the written language that is the same in all dialects, eat Chinese dishes with their delectable sauces and flavors, see the sturdy people at work and

at play, hear conversations salted with Confucian quotations and pithy proverbs distilled from long experience, and look at picturesque monuments of centuries gone by, I say to myself, "This is China, one and the same China." Underneath superficial political storms is the slow moving current of a single people, a changing yet unchanged unity of heritage and speech, custom and spirit. China's cultural pattern shows a greater harmony of line and color than does that of India, or the peoples of Europe, or the various Spanish-speaking countries of South America.

The tremendous vitality of the Chinese race has impressed many writers. "The Chinese," says Vincent Sheean, "are a truly great people, possessed of all the qualities that make for survival, propagation, expansion; the life principle is very strong in them."¹ Will Durant pictures the toughness and resiliency of the Chinese people in vivid language: "China sought it [happiness] in wisdom and courtesy, knowing the frailty of greatness and the sufferings of men; her sages stood aside from war and power, and loved simplicity and peace; her peasants tilled the soil with the patience of an ancient race, bearing all circumstance calmly and decking with bright colors their immemorial poverty."²

What are the survival qualities of the Chinese race? Industry, patience, cheerfulness and good humor, self-respect and consideration for the feelings of others, family loyalty and neighborliness, interest in the arts of peace more than the arts of war, skill of hand and keenness of mind, a strong faith in moral law, are some that impress me. Of course, for every virtue a vice may be named, but that is true of any people on earth. The physical vigor and endurance of the Chinese are amazing. We often see mountain coolies carrying loads of sixty to eighty pounds over rough trails for a distance

of thirty miles per day. American soldiers in China would have succumbed under the living conditions of the ordinary Chinese soldier. Some G.I.'s rashly challenged Chinese basketball teams and were astounded when they were beaten, often by undernourished players. The ability of the Chinese to put up with hardship and poverty and to rebound after disaster has been proved throughout their history.

IS CHINA'S GLORY PAST?

Here we run head on into the inevitable questions, "Why then is China in such a mess today? Why can't the Chinese people get together as they have done before? Is China's day of glory past?" The answers to such questions cannot be found in newspaper reports of day-by-day happenings or in sensational books about Red China and the civil war. China's present is not intelligible apart from her past — and it has been a long, long past of four to five thousand years.

Chinese history is a record of cycles — after a period of social unrest a vigorous leader appears, a new dynasty is established, the empire is consolidated for a time, the rulers become weak or corrupt, the dynasty falls, and there is another interim period of struggle for power. No dynasty has lasted longer than three hundred years. Born of Stoic discipline it dies of Epicurean indulgence.

The economic cycles were even more significant. Feudalism and vassalage were abolished when the empire was established more than two thousand years ago. The Chinese farmer has not been a serf bound to the land, nor has he been held in any one social caste. The agricultural population has produced many outstanding men of Chinese history. But there has always been a tendency toward concentration of land ownership in large estates. High rents, burdensome taxes, poverty

of the masses, and perhaps a severe famine would bring about agrarian revolt and the overthrow of the government in power, which meant that the "mandate of heaven" was withdrawn. Mencius preached the right of rebellion against tyrants. Sometimes a reform movement, such as that of Wang An-shih of the Sung period, would save the life of a dynasty. At other times agrarian revolution, like the T'ai P'ing Rebellion of the nineteenth century, would burn itself out in violent destructiveness. There have been thousands of revolts, large and small, in China's history. In times of prosperity the common people would pay their taxes and go about their own business. When government became too oppressive or living became too hard rebellion would flare up. Emperors were dethroned not simply by external or internal enemies but also when they lost the confidence and support of the great agricultural and laboring population, second only in the Chinese social scale to the revered scholar class.

If China's culture had followed the growth and decay of dynasties or the fortunes of emperors and kings, it would long ago have perished. Through the political changes of millenniums China — Chinese society, Chinese culture, the Chinese nation — has persisted. Eras of distressing political instability, such as the four centuries between the great Han and T'ang Dynasties, yet produced scholars and artists, commercial expansion, cultural progress, and a real religious renaissance. It was then that the first Buddhist scriptures from India were translated into beautiful literary Chinese. China's outstanding novel, *San Kuo Chih Yen I*, or *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, had its source in these troubled times.

China's monarchical government of twenty-one centuries ended with the overthrow of the Ch'ing or Manchu Dynasty in 1911. The present transition era is not between dynasty

and dynasty, but between monarchical dynasty and democracy. It is the most shattering and far-reaching change that the Chinese nation has yet experienced. In the more stable world before 1914 the transition would have been difficult enough. In the stormy international scene of today the strain that China's liberation and transformation place upon herself and the rest of the world is well nigh unbearable. Dr. John Dewey dramatized the spectacle of China's metamorphosis after his visit to that country in 1921: "History records no parallel. Can an old, vast, peculiar, exclusive, self-sufficing civilization be born again? Made over it must be, or it cannot endure. . . . History may be ransacked to furnish a situation that so stirs interest, that keeps a spectator so wavering between hope and fear and that presents so baffling a face to every attempt to find a solution." ³

REASONS FOR PRESENT TURMOIL

The unprecedented nature of the present national travail is due to numerous complex causes. In the first half of the Ch'ing Dynasty, under conditions of material prosperity, China's population grew very rapidly. In the last three centuries it has increased probably sixfold, intensifying the human pressure on arable land, aggravating the food problem, and reducing the average standard of living.

Moreover, this was the period when China was to meet the disrupting impact of the West. China had maintained relationships, as we have seen, with her Asiatic neighbors and in certain dynasties cultural and commercial contacts with Europe. But the coming of the white man in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with science and machines, guns and warships, colonial ambitions and plans for exploitation, was a new thing. All Asia reacted, in various ways,

against Western arrogance and aggression: China with anti-foreignism and sometimes violence, Japan with deep-seated resentment and a protective imperialism. The new colonialism of Spain, France, Holland, Portugal, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and the United States challenged the old empires of the Far East. The white man must take his share of blame for what is happening today among the yellow races of Asia.⁴

If China had had an enlightened and broad-minded dynasty such as the Han, T'ang, or Ming, the adaptation to new Western influences would have been much easier. But the Manchu being an alien dynasty was on the defensive, conservative, proud, and repressive. Toward the end of the nineteenth century it became bitterly anti-Western, and foreign troops came in to crush the Boxer Uprising against foreign influences.

China's modern revolution really began after her defeat by Japan in 1894, when Sun Yat-sen — a Chinese Patrick Henry — started the movement for Chinese independence. Dr. Sun was born in a South China village, followed his older brother overseas at the age of fourteen, studied in Honolulu and Hongkong, became a physician and then a prophet of the new China. He dreamed not simply of a China free from Manchu domination and Western exploitation; he foresaw democratic and socialistic government for the nation. His book, *San Min Chu I*, became a new national charter arousing new aspirations and inspiring new energies. In it he set forth the three principles of the people: the people's national independence, the people's sovereignty, and the people's welfare. "The revolution is not yet completed," he said upon his deathbed in 1925, and this statement is still true today.

As has often been said, China's revolution is many simultaneous revolutions — political, social, economic, cultural,

and religious. New democratic ideas must be grafted on old political traditions; adjustment must be found between the former self-sufficient agricultural economy with its rural crafts and twentieth-century machinery and industrial methods; a synthesis is needed between the best in China's own culture and the best from abroad; and the people are groping for new social and religious standards as old landmarks are swept away.

The revolution has thrust up some, but not enough, great leaders. It has brought to China a new national consciousness and the beginnings of new political unity, but also violent disagreements as to the road that China should take and as to what should be done first. Shall national independence and unity have the priority, or constitutional democracy, or drastic land reform, or shall everything be attempted at once? China, like other countries and like the whole world today, has right, left, and center groups, reactionaries and liberals, rascals and true patriots.

During this past half century China has been in an almost continual state of emergency. All my life I have heard talk about the impending breakup of China and prophecies that the forces making for greatness in China's history would some day reassert themselves. This is certain: an immense country like China cannot be liberated, modernized, democratized, and reinvigorated overnight. We may provide conditions for better growth but we cannot hasten growth, to use Mencius' illustration, by pulling on the plant. An American friend, whom I once accompanied on a visit to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, began to describe many of the evils he saw in China and asked why the National Government had failed to correct them. "*Chung-kuo chiu-shih na-mo yang-tze*, Well, China is like that," the Generalissimo replied quietly and

almost sadly. He, too, has been impatient for quick change but he knows that no individual, group, or party in government or society can expect to remake China in a day.

Dr. K. S. Latourette has said that it will take at least another fifty years for China to achieve political unity such as she enjoyed under her greatest emperors, a truly democratic form of government, and an economic and social organization in tune with her modern needs and the trends of a new international order.

The aggressive West shook the foundations of old Chinese society and forced cataclysmic adjustment and change upon a cultured, proud people. This was the first outside pressure that China faced in the modern era. The second came from China's Asiatic neighbor, Japan. Japan feared a strong China on the continent. Steadily and remorselessly during the past half century she sought to check China's national development and to maneuver herself into a position of continental leadership. Japan's dream of an Asiatic empire and China's awakening nationalism inevitably clashed. Repeatedly China had to yield. But the China that Japan began to invade in 1931 and finally attacked in all-out war in 1937 was a different China, an aroused China. After fourteen years of life-and-death struggle China won freedom from both Japanese aggression and the fetters that nineteenth century Western imperialism had imposed upon her.

Now from the north China senses another insistent pressure upon her borders, the driving ideas and forces of the Soviet Union. Civilizations and nations, says Toynbee, grow through challenge and response. What will be the response of China in travail, China in transition, to the Russian and Communist challenge?

CHAPTER THREE

LOSSES AND GAINS

HEADLINES IN CHUNGKING NEWSPAPERS SAID, "AMERICAN planes drop incendiary bombs on Tokyo; fires rage in city." Headlines in Tokyo papers read, "Japanese Imperial Air Force again attacks Chungking; city burning."

Such news brought to the minds of one American family in China and one Japanese family in Japan vivid memories of an experience they had shared in 1923. My wife and I were on our way to China and stopped over in Tokyo for a few days to visit Michio Kozaki, minister of the Reinanzaka Church, who had been my classmate in Yale Divinity School. Suddenly at midday on September 1, a terrific earthquake shook that part of Japan and thousands were crushed under falling buildings. Fires broke out in all directions; by sunset the city was a sea of roaring flame. The memory of that awful night has helped me to picture the suffering in Tokyo during the war. I am sure it helped Kozaki also to visualize the destruction that Japanese air raids brought early in the war upon Chungking and other cities of China.

Kozaki and I had many talks then and later, up to his last visit in our Nanking home in 1937, about relations between China and Japan. We dreaded the thought of approaching war. We felt that it would be an unspeakable tragedy. Japan and China were Asiatic neighbors who should understand, encourage, and work with each other. Japan with her energetic people, compact organization, industrial strength,

and world-circling merchant marine; China with her rich civilization, limitless man power, abundant agricultural and mineral resources, and vast potential markets — what an unbeatable team in the best sense they might become!

But like a whirling typhoon, war finally struck the Far East. The Japanese militarists, bent on conquest instead of cooperation, led their nation to dazzling temporary victories and then to swift, crushing defeat. The wreckage of the storm will be seen for a century over Asia. As we look back upon our earthquake experience it was a portent of a far greater upheaval and conflagration involving the people of all Japan and China and later of the whole world. It was a symbol, too, of "what is shaken . . . in order that what cannot be shaken may remain."¹ The Reinanzaka Church was left above the debris of the city in 1923; strangely it was not bombed in the air raids of 1943-45. Our families lived together and did relief work together through the dangers of the earthquake disaster. Battle lines separated us for a decade; separately we faced the perils of war, separately we engaged in relief activities, but our Christian friendship still remains unbroken. Today we and thousands of others are trying to rebuild, and this time may it be a more brotherly and peaceful Asia.

Whereas World War I began and ended in Europe, World War II had its beginning and end in Asia. The Japanese invasion of China's northeastern provinces in 1931, which China was too weak to resist and the League of Nations too impotent to arrest, started a long and ominous chain of events. There followed Italy's aggression in Ethiopia, the civil war in Spain, the rise of Hitler and the rearming of Germany. On July 7, 1937, Japanese military maneuvers and the shooting at Marco Polo Bridge near Peiping lit the powder keg in

East Asia. The European War broke out in 1939, and in two more years the United States had been drawn in against both Japan and Germany.

When Japan surrendered in August, 1945, her war against the United Nations had lasted nearly four years, her war against China over eight years.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

China's gallant part in the struggle for freedom against the Axis powers should not be forgotten. Recall the nation's unpreparedness for modern warfare, the fateful decision to fight against seemingly hopeless odds, and the unprecedented migration to the interior provinces. The victories of Taierhchwang, Changte, Changsha, and the Salween River shattered the myth of Japanese invincibility. The strategy of "magnetic warfare" and guerrilla attacks immobilized thirty Japanese divisions and over a million Japanese troops sorely needed elsewhere in the Pacific Theater. Remember the refusal to consider any peace offers of Japan, the dauntless spirit of the bombed cities, and the unshakable stamina of the people. For four years China fought without an ally, confident that the democratic world would some day be on her side. While many European governments were toppling or going into exile China maintained an organized central government within the country and carried on her national life. China lost battles but refused to lose the war.

As late as the winter of 1944-45 Japanese armies swept almost to Chungking, but China stood firm upon her rocky mountain bastion and emerged from the titanic struggle wounded, exhausted but free. At first we expected too little of China and she amazed us by her fearless stand. *Time Magazine* selected Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-

shek as the Man and Woman of the Year for 1937. Madame Chiang Kai-shek's visit to the United States in 1943 set a high water mark in China's wartime prestige. As the war dragged on and the United States needed more cooperation from China we expected too much, and disappointment followed. China's contribution to victory must be judged neither in the mood of exaggerated praise nor of sour disillusionment but with a fair mind and in the perspective of China's past history and tremendous problems today. China's record might have been better; it also might have been far worse. If China had surrendered, the effects upon allied strategy would have been catastrophic. The picture is neither wholly white nor wholly black. The world must not forget its debt of gratitude to China for her part in the war.

Some day historians will be able to look back and to describe in clearer outline than is now possible the turbulent decade through which China has just passed. Already we know that the Japanese invasion brought about the greatest struggle for national survival in China's history. In amount of territory covered and number of people affected, in magnitude of the issues involved, in human and material losses, and in extent and depth of the accompanying social upheaval, it has been unique.

During the war about five million National soldiers and one million Communist soldiers were engaged on the various battlefronts, holding defense positions or taking part in guerrilla operations. Another ten million were in training camps or in reserve units behind the lines. How do these numbers compare with the allied forces in China? A small number of American and British soldiers were captured after Pearl Harbor and were interned as prisoners of war. A small contingent of the British Royal Air Force moved into West

China when the Japanese captured Burma. The largest foreign military force in China was the American, and at its greatest strength just before V-J Day it did not number more than one hundred thousand. Before the United States was drawn into the Pacific War the American Volunteer Group, or "Flying Tigers," under General Chennault, was actively assisting in China's air defense. This later became the 14th Air Force. To it was added, under the command of General Stilwell and later under General Wedemeyer, a small army of American officers and enlisted men whose chief task was the training and equipping of Chinese troops for participation in Allied military operation. Army Transport Command and other American planes brought Lend-Lease equipment and supplies over the dangerous "Hump" route. By July, 1945, they were carrying one hundred thousand tons per month besides flying Chinese troops from one war area to another.

The nature of the American aid to China and its effect upon the course of the struggle and upon Chinese-American relations gave it a significance far out of proportion to the number of American soldiers involved. However, it is well to keep in mind that American servicemen in China numbered fewer than one per cent of the total armed forces of the United States around the world, and between one and 2 per cent of all fighting soldiers in China. American Lend-Lease aid to China up to V-J Day amounted to 1.8 per cent of the total that had been expended up to that time in all countries. The British Empire had received 64 per cent and the U.S.S.R. 23 per cent.² Moreover, during the war the Chinese Government paid all the costs of building and servicing the hostels or barracks for American soldiers and of the food purchased in China for them. American military aid to China was effective but limited in amount.

WAR LOSSES

Let us now endeavor to strike a balance sheet of China's gains and losses during the war years, realizing how difficult it is at this time to make a fair appraisal. First, the losses.

Most apparent are the material losses. In previous wars cities have been burned and the countryside has been laid waste but never before has China suffered such widespread destruction. Tientsin, Shanghai, Nanking, Hankow, Canton, Suchow, were heavily damaged in the early months of the war. Many other cities were completely emptied of inhabitants for a long period. Changsha became the scene of three major battles and was entirely burned. Little was left of large central China cities like Changte and Hengyang, where the Chinese staged a forty-seven day defense, or of Kweilin and Liuchow captured late in the war. Chungking, Kweiyang, Chengtu, Kunming, Sian, and numerous other busy inland cities were bombed repeatedly. Thousands of smaller cities and towns suffered from shellfire, burning, bombing, and the looting that followed enemy occupation. Japanese planes brooded like hawks over towns near the battle lines, making it almost impossible to live in them. Other places the Chinese themselves dynamited or set on fire as part of a "scorched earth" strategy. The invaders destroyed not only military objectives but also factories, public utilities, schools, hospitals, railways and rolling stock, steamers and junks, and valuable food supplies.

The resulting economic shock was terrific. But for the fact that China is predominantly an agricultural nation in the first stages of modern industrialization and that some industries were moved inland, the economic strain would have been far more severe and would have precipitated a

financial crisis much earlier in the war. As it was, China's foreign trade dwindled to almost nothing, government income from land and business taxes and customs duties was drastically reduced, and the only way to balance the wartime budget seemed to be through the issuance of more and more paper currency. Inflation began in the third year of the war. Prices rose steadily until on V-J Day they were more than a thousand times the prewar level. Almost 10 per cent of the fertile farm land was temporarily abandoned or lost for years to cultivation. The rest of the country produced more in good harvest years, but there were also some terrible famines from droughts, floods, and locusts. In 1938 hard-pressed Chinese forces dynamited one of the dikes of the Yellow River in order to check the advancing army. The flood waters followed an ancient channel, drowning large numbers of peasants, displacing millions from their homes, and inundating more than two million acres of cultivated land. In the decade before 1937 China had been making genuine progress in road building, currency stabilization, modernization of larger cities, agricultural improvement, and general economic development. The economic setback during the war years cannot be measured.

No exact statistics on human losses are available. My own estimate is that at least ten million soldiers and civilians were killed during the war and as many more died of wounds, diseases, enemy cruelty (as in the rape of Nanking), exposure and hardships on the long treks inland.³ Millions more died from famine in Honan, Kwangtung, and other afflicted areas. The Chinese Army was drawn largely from the peasant and working classes. But there were volunteers also from educated and business groups, and casualties among these potential leaders were considerable. The most serious effect of the war

upon government employees, professional workers, and the intelligentsia came through air raids, forced exile, malnutrition, tuberculosis and other diseases, and through accidents in aged buses or worn-out trucks on rough highways. Physical breakdowns and nervous exhaustion also took their toll among leaders in all fields in spite of the traditionally calm and resilient Chinese temperament. In Japanese-penetrated areas intellectuals suffered as much in mind and spirit as in body, and many who survived the long ordeal of enemy occupation have been permanently impaired in health.

Some may think that this war only aggravated the disturbed conditions that the Chinese people have long had to endure. Actually China has never before experienced such a severe disruption of her family and social life and of her inherited culture. Fifty million people were uprooted from their homes at one time or another. Five to ten millions of these went far into the hinterland of Central or West China. There were two waves of migration, one after the Japanese invasion in 1937 and the second after the outbreak of war in the Pacific. By every imaginable kind of conveyance and more often on foot, the people moved inland to escape Japanese tyranny. The story of this greatest migration of Asian history is an epic with many tragic lines. Families were separated for years, family ties and community loyalties were loosened. Not a few young men left wives in the coastal provinces and married again in West China. Old moral standards were undermined. Some Chinese scholars believe that the old culture that held the Chinese nation together is rapidly disintegrating; others are confident that China will preserve the best of the old and graft upon it what she needs and desires from the West. But today there is ferment, a ferment not initiated but certainly hastened by the war that has swept

the land. The war has been both a dissolvent and a stimulant.

In the forefront of China's new intellectual progress have been the universities and colleges. Because of their nationalism and anti-Japanese spirit they were among the first targets of enemy attack. Teachers and students traveled hundreds and even thousands of miles. Of over a hundred government institutions of higher learning more than eighty found new locations in Free China. Eleven of the thirteen Christian universities and colleges left their old campuses. The losses in material equipment, personnel, and educational standards during the war years can hardly be computed.

War brings out the worst as well as the best in a people. Every nation has certain national weaknesses and social evils that become more apparent in a crisis. Among Americans we have seen an increase in sexual immorality, divorce, crime, juvenile delinquency, drinking, gambling, and profiteering. China, too, has suffered serious moral and spiritual deterioration in her exhausting struggle. Sexual irregularities and the use of intoxicating liquors are not particular weaknesses of the Chinese people. But the deeply rooted evils of graft, corruption, and nepotism in public and private life have been aggravated. Lack of good organization and administrative efficiency, seen on a small scale before, became during the war a problem in the large. China had its profiteers and hoarders, its selfish men and its groups fighting harder for vested interests than against the outside enemy. China's own patriotic citizens have not hesitated to point out the moral losses of the war and the grave moral and spiritual dangers that now confront the exhausted nation.

The war was a serious setback to China's hopes for early political unity and democracy. Ten years of intermittent fighting between the central government and the Chinese

Communists ended early in 1937 with a truce and an agreement to face together the common danger of Japan. For two or three years afterward fairly close cooperation was maintained between the two armies, but gradually the old tension reappeared and each was not only fighting the invader but also guarding against any extension of power by the other. An uneasy peace developed after V-J Day into a race for "liberated areas" and then a general conflict. A national assembly had been elected and called to meet at the end of 1937 for the purpose of adopting a democratic constitution. The war forced the postponement of this assembly until November, 1946.

At Chungking the National Government was responsible to the Kuomintang, the party in power since 1928. The People's Political Council, a sort of popular forum representing various political parties and independent groups, met twice a year to hear and discuss government reports. President Chiang Kai-shek frequently consulted well known leaders outside the Kuomintang, and his appeals were always to the whole people, who in turn gave him a large measure of confidence and support. That China should have had a modern-minded National Government functioning at all during the war was something to be grateful for. But it was not an elected government responsible to the people as in the United States or Great Britain, and wartime military controls were not favorable to the development of democratic procedures. The government had to deal with all kinds of subversive influences, instigated by old war lords, opium dealers, Japanese agents, and radical agitators. Undiscriminating suppression of civil liberties sometimes resulted. China would have been much better prepared for the crisis if she had had a history of fifty years in representative democracy.

It is easy to criticize China's failures and mistakes during her long and bitter struggle. Perhaps we might be more sympathetic if we should imagine a similar invasion upon the eastern shores of the United States with hundreds of our cities bombed, all our railways east of the Mississippi taken over, our eastern industries either destroyed or moved westward, some of our best farming land in enemy hands, our government institutions and schools refugeeing in the Rocky Mountains, while inflation and black markets sent prices skyward. How well would we Americans with all our material and spiritual resources, educational advantages, and democratic maturity have met such a test?

WAR GAINS

China's gains in the war must also be considered, and they were big gains. First, China has been liberated from the Japanese military threat that has hung over her for half a century and that almost extinguished her national life. She defended her soil against a ruthless aggressor and yet did not descend to extreme bitterness and hate. China's magnanimity to the people of Japan has set an example to the world.

Today China is liberated not only from Japanese militarism but also from all the shackles that Western powers fastened upon her in the nineteenth century. On China's National Independence Day (October 10) in 1942, the governments of the United States and Great Britain announced that they were ready to relinquish their special rights in China and to negotiate new treaties of equality and reciprocity with the Republic of China. The new treaties were signed on January 11 and 12, 1943. The Chinese Immigration Law revised by the United States Congress and signed by President Roosevelt in December, 1943, placed China on a quota basis along

with other nationalities. The International Settlement at Shanghai and other "foreign concessions" were returned after the war to complete Chinese control. A new Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between the United States and China was signed on November 4, 1946. In many ways China's valuable contribution to the Allied war effort has been recognized. But the new independence won at such a cost is marred for China by the continued British possession of Hongkong off the South China coast, by the Russian hold on Dairen and Port Arthur, and by the Communist control of parts of Manchuria and North China. Nevertheless, China made long strides during the war toward regaining her national sovereignty and position of equality in international relations, and toward fulfilling the dream of her revolutionary prophet Sun Yat-sen.

The war gave to China a fresh and lively national consciousness. Out of the long struggle a new solidarity was born. Not only were the people united as never before in "defense of their mountains and rivers" but old provincial isolation disappeared with a vengeance. The National Army was made up of soldiers from every province. Peasant conscripts from remote mountain villages marched hundreds of miles over strange roads and through unfamiliar towns to parts of China they had never heard of before. Upon the streets of Chungking, Kunming, and scores of other Free China cities sounded the dialects of every province and the *kuo-yü* (*pai-hua*) or national language that is gradually pervading the land. East China came to know West China, and western Chinese came to understand and better appreciate the easterners whom they at first called "outlanders" or "down-river men." The children of a Shanghai refugee would be able to speak their native Shanghai dialect, the national language,

and Szechwanese with equal facility and probably at least one of them would decide to stay in Szechwan for life. The war mixed people together from all parts of China in a strange and exciting fusion of language, customs, and ideas. One felt at times an almost exuberant friendliness and cooperativeness. Free China became the seedbed of a new strain of patriotism and national loyalty.

We were constantly meeting old friends and friends of friends in unexpected places. Here is one of many such entries in my journal: "The pretty little hostess on the CNAC plane between Kunming and Chungking offered me a cup of tea and smiled. 'You are Mr. Frank Price, are you not? Our parents are very good friends.' Her father is an earnest and much respected churchman in Nanking. Her mother was a student in my mother's school at Hangchow in 1888. She herself, a graduate nurse from P.U.M.C., joined the westward migration and is now working on this commercial air line." A few weeks after I met Miss Lo Mei-yin, I read in a Chinese newspaper of her tragic death when the plane on which she was serving was forced down by Japanese fighter planes and then machine-gunned.

The migration not only introduced new friends to the people of the inland provinces but opened up to the migrators new vistas of their native land. West China, famous in Chinese song and story, became a reality. China became more wonderful to her own children. It is true that the hinterland was less developed and lacked many conveniences that the more modernized cities of the coast or Yangtze Valley offered, but there were compensations in the marvelous scenery, the colorful customs, the warm hospitality, and the thrilling potentialities of this vast region. Above all it was China, their China, uninvaded and Free China, redolent of

a great past and rich in promise of a greater future. Free China was both a geographical area and an invincible people.

New airways, new motor roads, and enforced wartime travel revealed this land in a new way to its own citizens. There are really many "West Chinas" from the air, each with its own fascination. The serrated skyline of Kwangsi, formed by its curious, picturesque conical mountains, looks like a Chinese painting with mist-enchanted peaks and gorges come to life. Crossing Szechwan one sees green paddy fields, terraced hillsides, ponds of water like bits of broken glass thrown upon the landscape below, black-roofed towns, and thatched farm-houses hidden in clumps of bamboo. Szechwan is the "Golden West": golden oranges in the winter, golden fields of blooming rapeseed in the spring, golden glow of setting sun over distant snow mountains in summertime, golden rice harvest in the autumn, and stories of gold in swift mountain streams.

Fly to the great northwest and the scenery suddenly changes. Treeless wastes in the loess region, crazy-quilt patterns of wheat and bean fields on crumbling mountainsides and in watered valleys, ancient cities, and old imperial tombs mark the "cradle of Chinese civilization." Kansu Province is there with its bottleneck gateway to the northwestern frontier. Lanchow huddles close to the Mongolian plateau by the upper reaches of the Yellow River, crossed by bridge-boats in summer and ice in winter. Frontier towns dot the eight-hundred-mile caravan route to Sinkiang (old Chinese Turkestan), China's Texas. This is an immense outlying province, as large as France, Germany, and Spain combined, "place of isolation and vast area of passage," land of history and mystery, made more accessible by the war. Settlers from other parts of China are finding here a strange India-like pattern of diverse races, languages, and religions; steppes, deserts, oases,

and grazing lands for twelve million sheep and a million cattle; melons, grapes, and other luscious fruits; and largely untapped resources of iron, coal, and oil.

Another large border province brought nearer by the war is Tsinghai, named after its azure salt sea ten thousand feet above sea level, a land of hardy tribes and picturesque lamaseries. Ningsia is a broad province of desert nomads living in felt huts, the home of two million Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Lamaists. Faraway Tibet is no longer far. Airways and highways are pushing into this wind-swept and sparsely populated highland and its long-isolated but now electrically lighted capital Lhasa. No one who visited or lived in these different "West Chinas" during the war can fail to be excited by the thought of what they will increasingly mean to the life of the new China.

The refugees who migrated inland and returned home after the war will never forget their travel experiences. The journey was hard but one usually reached his destination and that was always an achievement worth celebrating. A truck would cover 150 to 250 miles on a day's run and rest at night. Along the main routes were boom towns like the gold rush towns of our American West in pioneer days.

And so the war speeded China's modern awakening. Everywhere in the hinterland was change, sometimes chaotic, sometimes constructive, always interesting. Everywhere you observed contrasts — old farmers in the same dress as their ancestors and young soldiers in khaki uniforms, ancient inscriptions and modern slogans, wheelbarrows and automobiles, pack mules and airplanes. In the mountain-girt heart of a continent a new China was being created.

Like Nehemiah's men who built the walls of Jerusalem, each working with one hand and holding a weapon with the other,

the people of Free China constructed while they fought. The farmers were heroes of the plow and the sword. General Stilwell gave high praise to the peasant soldier. "The Chinese soldier, if fed, clothed, and trained, is as good a soldier as anybody could ask for. From the standpoint of physique and ability to stand hardship, he's at the top."⁴

Pearl Buck's *Dragon Seed* has dramatized the moving of industries from the coast inland. The equipment of 452 factories, including 120,000 tons of machinery, was carried up the Yangtze River or over mountain roads and installed in the free provinces. More than 100,000 skilled workers came also. New factories for manufacture of munitions and consumer goods were built in hidden valleys and in mountain caves. The famous Chinese Industrial Cooperatives reported in 1940 over 3,000 cooperative societies in 18 provinces making 500 different kinds of goods. Most of the workers were refugee mechanics and artisans. One of the big cooperative centers was Paochi on the Chengtu-Sian Road, with more than a hundred little cooperative shops.

Municipal streets were widened. If air raids demolished parts of a city, reconstruction had to follow a new city construction plan. Chungking became a very different place from what it was before 1927 when there were no wide streets or wheeled vehicles and the rocky heights to be climbed gave it the epithet "city of stairs, [sedan] chairs, and swears." When imports were cut off science professors in their laboratories and workers in their factories found all kinds of substitutes. Professor Lin Yi of Fukien Christian University made motor fuel from pine roots. Needing more food, more fuel, more wool, the government invited specialists in soil conservation and flood control, like Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk, specialists in animal husbandry and agronomy, and specialists in food-processing,

to visit China, study conditions, and make recommendations. Bombs rained death, the blockade tightened, but construction went on.

The Japanese captured more than nine-tenths of China's 9,773 miles of railway; yet during the war China built another 1,001 miles farther inland.⁵ Before the war China had 71,735 miles of highway, one-third of which were surfaced; 8,226 more miles were built during the war. New motor roads were surveyed and constructed in every free province by human labor and with primitive farm tools.

The Yunnan section of the Burma Road built in 1938 showed China what her own people could do with limited equipment but unlimited determination and courage.⁶ Thirty Chinese engineers surveyed the 660-mile route with ordinary spirit levels. The road was completed in seven months, including both dry and rainy seasons, by the tremendous effort of hundreds of thousands of obscure toilers—men, women, and children. "Only their endless patience and devotion, their magnificent endurance of hardships and hazards of all kinds, fatigue, illness, accidents, and death, made it possible for China to have her life line."⁷ Great numbers died of malaria in the "fever valleys." Landslides killed hundreds more. Masons who were swung out over precipices to build retaining walls sometimes fell thousands of feet to their death. Three single-span suspension bridges, the longest one 410 feet, had to be constructed over deep river canyons, all the steel parts carried in by men and mules. The Mekong Bridge alone was bombed by the Japanese twelve times and repaired each time within forty-eight hours. There were 460 smaller bridges and thousands of culverts. In places the road would fall in a short distance from mountain ranges two miles high to a river bed nine thousand feet below. I have never driven over a more

difficult and dangerous road, a road that cost so much human life, a road through scenery of such majestic, primeval grandeur. In 1942 the road was widened and asphalted; then the Japanese drove in from the Burma side, and Chinese troops had to dynamite curves and bridges for 180 miles inside the border to Paoshan. But the Japanese were never able to cross the Salween and were even driven back to the Burma border. Let China, as she faces immensely difficult tasks today, recall the spirit that built and defended her great life line of the war years, the Burma Road.

Later the Ledo, or Stilwell, Road was constructed by American army engineers with giant bulldozers from the railhead in Assam through Mityina and linked with the free end of the Burma Road. It was opened to traffic in January, 1945, and immediately truck convoys with American Negro drivers rolled in with vital war supplies. Northern India and Southwest China were joined for the first time by an all-weather highway and also by a gasoline pipe line. This was a superb engineering accomplishment, but in romance of construction, difficulties to be overcome, and cost in blood, sweat, and tears, it could not compare with China's hand-built highway.

Millions of Chinese laborers were employed to make new airfields for the 14th Air Force, the Chinese-American Composite Wing, and the giant B-29's that bombed Japan. They drained rice fields, quarried paving stones by hand, carried bamboo baskets of earth in long ant-like lines, and pulled "ten-ton rice-burning rollers of five hundred coolie power" that remorselessly crushed any coolie stumbling in its path. I saw them building the huge B-29 field west of Chengtu that American engineers called a "ninety-day miracle." Half a million Szechwan farmers recruited by Governor Chang Chun toiled on this one project under the direction of twenty-six

American engineers. Every town and village within a radius of 150 miles had to furnish its quota of labor. Ten billion pounds of earth and stone were moved by hand. The runway, five layers of crushed rock with slurry between, nearly two miles long and two hundred feet wide, was completed on schedule time. When the first giant bombers landed there were not even wheel marks. "The engineers had endless praise for the laborers, who worked patiently, almost tirelessly, and in good humour." ⁸

THE NEW SPIRIT

Today China appears tired out and discouraged by the overwhelming problems of the postwar period. Many within and without the nation are losing faith in her power of recovery. But neither China nor the world should forget the heroic, indomitable spirit of the Chinese people during the long years of resistance. Peasants fought on the battle lines and produced food for the nation in the rear. Merchants saw their shops bombed once and again and yet came back to put up shacks and sell the goods that they had carried on their backs into air-raid shelters or the open country. I witnessed the first devastating air attacks on Chungking in May, 1939, and many after that. The city was battered, bruised, burned over, a pile of rubble; the inhabitants were driven for weeks on end into the rocky dugouts. But Chungking never complained, never surrendered, and building started hopefully after every raid. Today it is again a thriving port on the upper Yangtze, not simply a "point in time" but a city with a valiant war record and also a great future in the reopened west. The long-planned railway from Chungking to Chengtu is now being constructed and will be linked with new trunk lines to North, East, and South China.

Valiant was the word for the teachers and students who held the educational front. By the end of the war there were more colleges and high schools in Free China than in all China before the war. Refugee schools were housed in temples and other available public buildings, or in temporary mat sheds. Some shared the facilities of established schools in West China. Professors lived in crowded quarters and as the cost of living rose tried to support their families on ridiculously small incomes. Students lived in cold and damp dormitories of laths and plaster, ate poor meals, exchanged their few books and meager laboratory equipment. All during the war youth kept coming from occupied territory into Free China in order to escape Japanese-controlled education and carry out their passionate desire to learn. I have seen them on these long treks, with bundles slung over their shoulders, singing songs and shouting to one another, eager adventurers into a freer world. Although the government policy was not to conscript students, a great many volunteered for the air force and officers' training schools and in the later years of the war for the Educated Youth Army and Interpreting Officers' Corps. Through years of hardship their faith in China's cause did not falter. There were some sons and daughters of rich families whose records were shamelessly selfish, but the great majority of students did what they could in one way or another for their country.

When the buildings of Nankai University at Tientsin were razed by the Japanese in July, 1937, the Christian president, Dr. Chang Po-ling, said, "Nankai is not a set of buildings, Nankai is a spirit. And where there was one Nankai before, someday forty Nankais will take its place!"⁹ He led his school all the way across China to Changsha and then to Kunming. The spirit of the colleges was carried inland and stimulated

new educational enterprises. Dr. James Yen started his Rural Reconstruction College near Chungking, Dr. Hsin-chih Tao founded the Yu Tsai School for talented children. A new program of education was begun among the border tribes. Literacy education in the interior provinces received an impetus; the adult literacy level was raised about 10 per cent. Horizons of women were widened by the educational and social work of thousands of teachers and students.

The new spirit was felt by the Chinese masses. One could go into a village away from the battle zones and off the main highways and see rural life little different from that in old China. And yet even there the effects of the war were evident in the activities of the township office, in the curriculum of the local primary school, and in the hand-written wall newspapers. In the teashop men talked about conscription and taxation, listened to the war songs of passing soldiers, and grumbled at the steadily rising prices in the markets. The people were not as fully mobilized in National territory as in Communist areas. Nowhere were the people wholly behind the war effort; there was plenty of dissatisfaction and criticism, selfishness and apathy. But as I traveled over Free China during the war I was convinced that never in China's history had there been so great a measure of popular unity, such wholehearted cooperation in a national cause, and such real pride in the nation's achievements. The war was an interlude in a long national evolution. Like the bamboo, the people of China were being bent, but they were not breaking, and they showed that they would spring back.

As we look back, it seems a miracle that the people carried on as calmly and bravely as they did. Death pelted from the heavens but the gentle rains came down, too, and the good earth brought forth its harvests for the hard-working, patient

farmers. In the bomber-infested sky Chinese commercial planes of the CNAC evacuated important personnel in the face of the early enemy advance, pioneered over the Hump, opened eight new airlines in Free China, and in the first seven years of the war carried 136,458 passengers a total of nearly twelve million miles. The green-uniformed postmen of the Chinese post offices never faltered; mails were kept moving even across the lines into Occupied China. Telegraph and telephone services deteriorated but were never abandoned. City electric light plants struggled on with old equipment, furnishing light every few nights, if not every night, in spite of the extra load upon them. Newspapers reduced their size, used atrocious type and the cheapest bamboo paper, but did not stop publication. Community spirit grew under the pressure of the invader and in response to the many relief needs. Never have the Chinese people given so much out of their own poverty to help their fellow countrymen and their defending armies. Through it all the Chinese displayed a dignity in adversity that impressed all visitors from abroad. Children laughed, adults kept steady and cheerful. The war song, "One in mind, one in heart, the Chinese race cannot die," truly expressed the morale and faith of the people amidst the myriad hardships of war-borne disaster.

Although conditions were very different under Japanese occupation, even there the spirit of China was not crushed. The number of collaborators was very small. Primary school teachers kept alive the flame of patriotism in the hearts of their pupils. An underground movement sabotaged Japanese efforts and assisted guerrilla bands. The puppet governments set up by the Japanese invaders failed utterly to win the support of the people. The contribution of the people of occupied China to final victory has not been fully appreciated.

NEW STANDING AMONG THE NATIONS

The war brought another gain to China, a new place in the family of nations. Although weak politically and militarily China was yet counted among the "Big Five." President Chiang attended the important Cairo Conference, where he came to know and admire President Roosevelt, and China had a seat in the councils that planned the Allied strategy in the Pacific. A strong delegation representing various political opinions went from China to the United Nations Organization Conference at San Francisco. Today China is well represented in the United Nations Assembly and councils and at important diplomatic posts around the world.

President Chiang Kai-shek, who gave the nation such inspiring leadership during the war, expressed the belief that China's greatest spiritual gain was the vindication of her faith in justice and in the triumph of righteousness in international affairs. In a moving broadcast just after the Japanese surrender he said, "Right will triumph over might — this great truth which we never once doubted has been finally vindicated. Our faith in justice through black and hopeless days and eight long years of struggle has today been rewarded. . . . Even in periods of greatest gloom and despair our people . . . held to the conviction that sacrifices made for justice and humanity would surely be followed by right-ful compensations." ¹⁰

Two stories illustrate well this unconquerable faith of the Chinese people. A Roman Catholic missionary tells of a fourteen-year-old Mongolian boy with a camel whom he met at Tushan, Kweichow. The lad had fled from Mongolia in 1937 and had come overland through Peiping, Hankow, Changsha, and Kweilin to this place. On the way his mother

died and his father was killed in an air raid; now the boy and his camel were four thousand miles and seven years from home. "Where do you expect to go now?" he was asked. "I do not know, *Shen Fu*, only that I am going away from the Japanese and that some day I will return to Mongolia. If the camel and I have to walk all around the waist of the world we shall return to our home, where the sheep run free in the highlands." And he went on.¹¹

Kwok Ying Fung dedicates his beautiful book of China photographs¹² to his mother in these words: "I close my eyes and see a slight figure trudging down a road. With little food and only a daughter-in-law to attend her, she walks five days. Her journey is long and hazardous. At night she creeps from enemy-occupied territory into free country. She has seen the blood of civil war and invasion. She has suffered widowhood and hunger without a son to lean upon; yet she keeps a charitable outlook on life and says few words of any man unless they can be good. Her heart is young, for all the wisdom of her age. Born in a dying era, she lives through the present for the sake of the future. Her small person is the embodiment of a great transition, of unsuspected strength and inward beauty. She is my mother."

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF TO CHINA

While Japan ravaged China, friendly nations gave relief, contributing to the needs of the wounded, the refugees, and the homeless. The people of India sent doctors and nurses. The American Red Cross and International Red Cross were early in the field with medical and other forms of aid. The British Fund for China Relief and Lord Mayors' Fund sent help from Great Britain. Canadians and Australians quickly showed their sympathy. The Church Committee for China

Relief was organized in the United States in 1938 by China Famine Relief, Inc., the Foreign Missions Conference, and the Federal Council of Churches; eventually forty-two Protestant denominations joined in. United China Relief in 1941 brought together this Church Committee and six other organizations to raise funds for child welfare, medical relief, industrial co-operatives, the Christian colleges, etc. This in 1943 became an important beneficiary in the National War Fund. In 1944 the Church Committee expanded its activities to include other war-torn countries of Asia and rehabilitation projects, in addition to its regular work of disaster relief. In 1946 United China Relief became United Service to China, and then merged into American Overseas Aid. U.C.R. contributions to China Relief from 1941 to 1946 totalled \$48,093,371 in American money. To this should be added the gifts of the International Student Service Fund, which benefited so many ragged and hungry refugee students, the splendid work of the Friends' Ambulance Unit (manned by over a hundred British and American Quakers), the vast amount of relief given through Protestant denominational channels and Catholic organizations, and the interest today of Church World Service in China along with all countries afflicted by war. At the end of 1944 it was reported that one-sixth of all American gifts in cash and goods to war-afflicted countries had gone to China. The relief that we have mentioned was from private and voluntary sources. Since the end of the war UNRRA aid in large measure has been sent to China.

The people of China have been profoundly grateful for this practical expression of sympathy and friendship in their time of bitter pain and need. The relief campaigns for China aroused a deep interest; they promoted a better understanding of the life and problems of her people. The gains on both

sides have been immeasurable. Theodore White, although ordinarily very critical of China, wrote recently to United Service to China, "Now more than ever China needs healing and peace and non-political expression of friendship. It would be a tragedy indeed if Americans in their own prosperity should forget the common need that once bound us in peril to the suffering people of China." ¹³

AMERICAN ARMY INFLUENCES

The presence of Allied, especially American troops, in China was a mixture of good and evil. The Chinese people were impressed by the physical energy, the technical know-how, the organizational efficiency, and the warm friendliness of the American soldiers and responded to them with admiration and affection. G.I.'s who were in China will not soon forget the "thumbs up" and cheery *Ding Hao* (Very Good) shouted at them by people on the streets and roads and even by babes in arms. Many close friendships between American soldiers and the Chinese were formed in the training centers at Kunming and Chungking and in places of danger on the battlefield. There was sincere gratitude for American military aid in the crucial years of the war that did much to soften the earlier resentment at American sale of scrap iron and oil to Japan. The Chinese people will hold forever in honor the American pilots and soldiers who were killed in China and whose bodies rest upon their soil. At Kunming is an American cemetery of nine hundred graves and near by a memorial cathedral built by the contributions of Chinese and American Christians.

At the same time we must acknowledge that some American soldiers by their rudeness, arrogance, drunkenness, or other offensive behavior aroused criticism and even hostility among the Chinese and gave a poor impression of "Christian"

America. The Army men liked the Chinese people as a whole and those who sought to understand them came to appreciate their many fine qualities. But others were unhappy in China. They had been catapulted through the back door into Yunnan, a poorly ruled and undeveloped province. They saw beauty and also ugliness. They were repelled by the poverty, the disease, the lack of modern sanitation, the petty pilfering that they observed about them. They tended to judge the Chinese by some familiar stereotype or to compare the country with the Main Street, U.S.A. of today instead of with the China of twenty-five years ago that they had never seen. They were naturally homesick, critical of the Chinese Government and Army, and impatient with everything. The taste of a delicious Chinese feast at a famous restaurant would be spoiled by a quarrel with ricksha men at the door. Stories of the wonderful kindness of the common people to fallen American fliers would be matched with a tale of some man who tried to gouge everything he could out of the "wealthy Americans." Some carried Chinese curios, gifts from Chinese friends, and happy memories of China back to their homes; an unfortunately large number took away only a sour taste in their mouths. This meeting of the American Army and Chinese people in China both helped and hurt the long standing good will between the two peoples. The several thousand Chinese pilots, technicians, and mechanics who were trained in the United States during the war did a great deal, on the other hand, to strengthen Chinese-American relations.

Continued efforts were made by Chinese officials, Western educated Chinese, missionaries, and others to bridge the difficult gap between the American servicemen and the country that was their host. President Chiang Kai-shek and other government leaders entertained frequently. The War Area

Service Corps under General J. L. Huang provided hostels with all kinds of facilities for the American Army, and the Foreign Affairs Bureau under General Ho Hao-Jo furnished more than forty-six hundred interpreting officers, chiefly college students, for special service with American army men.

THE WAR AND CHRISTIANITY

Later chapters will discuss more fully the effect of the war upon the Christian church in China. The Christian church shared in the destruction and suffering that war brought. Churches, schools, hospitals, and centers of social service were bombed, burned, and ransacked. Congregations were scattered, church members and their pastors were killed, many Christians joined the great migration inland. In Occupied China hundreds of missionaries were interned after Pearl Harbor, and Chinese churches and Christian institutions were not only cut off from all mission aid but were subjected to increased suspicion and more frequent persecution. Christian groups in invaded China, the war zones, and Free China lost touch with one another. Inflation and rising costs affected all phases of Christian activity. The war was a shattering experience for Christian missions and the Christian church in China, and the losses were enormous.

But the gains, in God's providence, were even greater. What happened served to advance the gospel.¹⁴ Christianity is no longer under the protection of unequal treaties imposed upon China by victorious Western powers. "Once Christianity was an invaders' religion," says Bishop C. T. Song of Szechwan, "now it is an invited religion." The Christian church had a magnificent record of war service, as it ministered to the wounded, the refugees, the orphans, and the destitute of all classes. It strengthened the morale of the people. It is recog-

nized today — except in Communist areas — as no longer a foreign religion but as a world religion that is taking root in Chinese thought and life and bearing fruit in a quality of faith and character that China sorely needs in these days of reconstruction. Christianity, like China's *lah-mei* or Twelfth Moon plum tree, bore bright and fragrant blossoms through China's long winter of storm and suffering.

It was a tragic war, tragic for China and also for Japan, tragic for China and for the world that has not yet learned the way of international brotherhood and peace. And war brings its bitter aftermath. It should not be difficult for an American, especially a Southerner, to understand China's exhaustion resulting from invasion, blockade, and disruption of her economic life. Since my boyhood I have heard and read about the economic exhaustion in the Southern States in 1865. Manufacturing had ceased, transportation was badly crippled, paper currency after four years of war was valued by weight rather than by the denomination on its face. Prices rose to fantastic levels; new clothing could not be bought. Finally the monthly pay of a soldier would not buy one pound of bacon. The future was bleak indeed. And yet, as one historian says, "It can only be noted that live they did, and live with an amazing little of complaining and an amazing much of fortitude."¹⁵

China won her war, but conditions when peace came were similar to those at the end of the Confederacy. Recovery will take decades as it did in the Southern States. To our gallant Chinese allies the same tribute may be given, "It can only be noted that live they did, and live with an amazing little of complaining and an amazing much of fortitude." And China, too, we may be sure, will march forward into a brighter tomorrow.

CHAPTER FOUR

AFTERMATH OF WAR

SIX DAYS AFTER THE JAPANESE SIGNED THE SURRENDER document at Nanking, Sten Lindberg, a China-born missionary, a Chinese government group from Chungking, and I flew to the prewar capital. "A few weeks ago," I said to myself as our plane took off into the clear September sky, "this would have been impossible; Japanese fighters would have met us half way!" In half an hour we were crossing the vertical fortresses of granite that had protected Szechwan from invasion and looked down into the deep, dark gorges of the Yangtze. Soon below us were the broad rice plains of Hupeh yellowing for harvest, muddy rivers in flood dotted with white sails, the black ruins of Hankow and Wuchang, the pretty hills and lakes of Anhwei, and in less than five hours — an incredibly short time, it seemed — Purple Mountain, sentinel of Nanking, with the tomb of Sun Yat-sen gleaming like a sapphire on its southern slope.¹

As we circled over Lotus Lake and the magnificent old city walls of Nanking we shouted with our Chinese fellow-passengers "*Hwei-chia liao, hwei-chia liao* — Home again, home again." Deep emotion gripped us. The return from exile was beginning. Many, we knew, would greet with tears of joy relatives and friends whom they had not seen for seven, eight, or nine years. Some, we knew, would go back to cities and villages wiped out in the Japanese assault or burned in guerilla fighting, and find their homes and families no longer

there. But it was a time of joy. Home, peace, freedom, recovery, were words on everybody's lips. The war was over; surely better days were coming.

When the first news of the Japanese surrender offer reached Chungking on the night of August 10, 1945, the city went wild with delight. Hundreds of refugee families sold off their possessions and moved to the river bank, expecting to start down river the next day, but they were forced to wait for months. The areas long oppressed by the Japanese armies looked jubilantly for release from all their sorrows and fears, but when the Japanese were repatriated the shadow of civil war moved across the land.

Hopes soared skyward at the tidings of peace; reaction and disillusionment quickly followed. Convalescence from a long and exhausting war, like convalescence from a serious illness or major operation, may take longer and be harder to bear than the big crisis itself. And there is always danger of relapse. Today China is still a sick and impoverished nation, not yet on its feet. After V-J Day I accompanied a group of foreign newspapermen to call on President Chiang Kai-shek. One of them asked him what he considered the most dangerous and critical time in the war just ended. He reflected a moment and then said quietly, "The most dangerous period of the whole war will be the year or two after the war." President Chiang, with his usual discernment and farsightedness, was right. These two postwar years have been among the most difficult and critical in all the history of China, and grave perils lie ahead.

To foreign observers and even to the Chinese themselves the picture is exceedingly confused. During the war a common objective held the nation together; now there are violent disagreements as to the way that China should follow. The nation

is in the grip of social forces it does not fully understand, and is enacting a drama whose plot is not clear and whose denouement cannot yet be seen. The confidence in final victory that sustained the people during the war years has been replaced by an abnormal mood of restlessness and exasperation. Bitterness has been evidenced in the deadlock between the government and the Communists, the cry for food and security, the increase in banditry and thieving, and in the threat of economic chaos and political anarchy. Cynicism has grown from the fear of Russian encroachment or of Russian-American competition on China's soil, the violent clashes of rightist and leftist propaganda within China, and the moral letdown that is everywhere evident. The reappearance of personal jealousies and animosities in many groups, the replanting of opium poppies in the far west, and the inability of the hard-pressed National Government to meet all the aspirations of a war-weary population have bred despair. It is strange to find Chinese friends who were once sensitive to any kind of foreign criticism now asking that nothing good be said about China!

But this is not the whole picture. Progress has been made in rehabilitation, in economic recovery, in preparation for constitutional democracy, in checking the forces of disintegration, and in revitalizing the national life. There are leaders who are keeping steady, citizens who are working earnestly at reconstruction, youths who are patriotic and forward-looking, and men and women of influence who are being given new spiritual insights and new strength of character to meet the challenges of the hour. Self-criticism is producing some wholesome and constructive results. There is hope as well as distress in China's convalescence.

Of course China's situation is not unique. Much of Europe today lies shattered and prostrate. Inflation in Hungary and

other countries is worse than in China. As in China we find famine and fear, disunity and pessimism. France and Italy are beset by ideological conflicts; even England's ship of state is rocking. Germany in Europe and Korea in Asia are divided by the rivalry between American and Soviet ideas and power. We see internal strife in India and Palestine, explosive situations on every continent. China is part of a disordered world, which has fought the most destructive war in history and has not yet achieved the peace and brotherhood for which humanity yearns. If the United States seems comparatively uninjured and prosperous, let us remember that it, too, is part of the world and cannot long remain free and peaceful if the rest of mankind suffer from turmoil and hunger, or if new aggressions and tyrannies arise. That is why we must be concerned as never before with the world and our responsibility to it, including Asia and China.

THE RECORD SINCE V-J DAY

It will be helpful at this point to review a few recent important events in China. On August 15, 1945, President Chiang Kai-shek announced to the people of China the surrender of Japan and invited the Chinese Communist leader Mao Tsê-tung to confer at Chungking regarding problems of the peace. The day before there had been signed in Moscow a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the Soviet Union and China that embodied the basic points agreed upon at the Yalta Conference the preceding January. At Yalta the United States Government made a mistake of the first magnitude. As a price of Russian participation in the war against Japan, we gave away vital Chinese concessions without even consulting China. Now China had to sign a treaty confirming the new position of Soviet Russia in the Far East. Outer Mongolia

became independent; Russia secured joint control of the Manchurian railways and special rights in Dairen and Port Arthur. In spite of Marshal Stalin's promise to China's foreign minister T. V. Soong that Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Manchuria within three months, Dairen and Port Arthur are still occupied and Chinese officials have not been able to enter the two cities to take over their administration.

The Russian plunder of former Japanese factories in Manchuria, which set back industry in that important area a quarter of a century, is an incontestable fact. China lost more under six months of Russian military occupation than under fourteen years of Japanese rule. The machinery was taken by the Russians for themselves. Piles of Japanese booty were left to the Chinese Communist armies that flew hammer and sickle flags and followed on the heels of the Russian withdrawal. Before V-J Day there were very few Communist soldiers in Manchuria; within six months there were hundreds of thousands.

In its treaty with China the Soviet Union agreed "to render China moral support and aid in military supplies and other resources, such support and aid to be entirely given to the National Government as the central government of China." It also recognized the three eastern provinces (Manchuria) as a part of China and reaffirmed its respect for China's full sovereignty in this region that by history and population was indisputably Chinese.

The United States also gave support to the recognized National Government and helped it in a practical way by furnishing air transport to National troops who took over the liberated areas. American planes shipped these troops to Shanghai, Nanking, and other cities of the Yangtze Valley

and to the key cities of North China. The Communist guerrilla forces that had been largely in North China slipped swiftly into the vacuum left by surrendering Japanese garrisons and in a short time controlled two large blocs of territory. The first of these, about eight hundred miles long and two hundred miles wide on the average, stretched from Yenan eastward through Shansi, northern Honan, southern Hopeh, Shantung and northern Kiangsu to the sea. The other bloc, even larger, formed a wide arc north of the Great Wall through the provinces of Inner Mongolia into Manchuria. Between these blocs was a National corridor that included Peiping and Tientsin and later Kalgan, and a narrow finger along the railway line into Manchuria. The total territory held by the Communists, although only a relatively small proportion of all China, was of the utmost strategic importance. The issue between the National Government and the Communists was not simply a difference of ideologies or economic programs; it was becoming primarily a struggle for territory and power.

The National Government considered itself the legal and rightful central government of China, recognized by all other governments. The Communist Party and army, on the other hand, claimed that they represented a popular revolutionary movement resting on the broad base of the agrarian masses, and demanded a coalition government. The central government was willing to invite Communists into the government but not on a fifty-fifty basis or with the Communists exercising veto power. It feared a *coup d'état* or violent overthrow of its authority. Into a worsening situation of mutual distrust and suspicion came General George C. Marshall, the special envoy of President Truman, with a long and patient endeavor at mediation. General Marshall after nearly a year — a year

of innumerable conferences and negotiations, "truce teams" in the field, agreements kept and broken, hopes raised and dashed to the ground — left China, blaming the extremists on both sides and appealing to moderates and liberals under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek to redouble their efforts for unity and peace. In July, 1946, Dr. John Leighton Stuart, the retiring president of Yenching University, had been appointed American ambassador to China and was to represent the continued interest of the United States in a peaceful, progressive, and democratic China.² A year later General Albert C. Wedemeyer was sent as special ambassadorial envoy on a fact-finding mission to China and brought back an important report to President Truman.³

Events in China, meanwhile, were heading toward a showdown between the National Government and the Communists. After nearly three years of intermittent negotiations a complete break occurred. On January 24, 1947, the National Government made its final peace offer to the Communists. Only when this was flatly turned down with unacceptable counterdemands and the Communists declared that "there is no more mediation; the only way out is to fight," only then did Nanking send the Communist representative back to Yen-an and reluctantly order an all-out military campaign. This was followed a few months later by a general mobilization order against the "Communist rebels."

On March 19, 1947, National troops captured the Communist capital, Yen-an, and the armed struggle continues fiercely — at the time of this writing — in those regions of North China where the government is trying to dislodge the "rebels" and to restore railway communications. Since Manchuria has become the new base of the Communist campaign, supplying Shantung and other provinces with guns and

ammunition, the government is determined to recover this area at all costs, but is meeting with stiff opposition, and its position there is precarious.

American troops, gradually reduced in number, stayed on after V-J Day for a year and a half. Their main job was to assist the Chinese Government in repatriating three million Japanese soldiers and civilians and to serve in various ways in connection with the American mediation effort. But strong feeling against the American Army and marines developed among certain groups, culminating in a rather widespread agitation over a marine rape case in Peiping. Since the repatriation job was done and the "truce teams" were only marking time, the United States Government wisely announced on January 29, 1947, that it would withdraw all remaining American troops within 90 days and discontinue its futile peace efforts along the National-Communist front. This left in China only a small military advisory group, invited by the National Government to train Chinese officers, and scattered units searching for lost American pilots and registering American graves.

Communist influence and propaganda during these two years has extended far beyond the one-eighth of all China or one-fifth of interior China that is under direct control of the Communist army.⁴ As in all lands Communism is exploiting hunger, poverty, discontent, injustice, and defeatism and is promising a heaven of material blessings. The Communist appeal to an unhappy people is powerful, and the Chinese Communists have made clever use of all their opportunities to aggravate labor strikes and student protests, to delay economic recovery, and to weaken the authority and prestige of the central government. Even without this Communist challenge the National Government would have encountered

grave difficulties because of its own unimaginativeness, weakness, and blunders after V-J Day, the general demoralization of society, and the desperate spirit of the people. The title of Dr. Arthur H. Smith's book on China at the turn of the century, *China in Convulsion*, would be even more applicable to China, 1947.

PROGRESS AND PERIL

And yet in all fairness we must recognize the progress that has been achieved in these two postwar years, progress all the more remarkable because of the disturbed condition of the whole country. During this period, as during the eight-year war, China has suffered serious losses but has also made important gains. We find bright as well as dark colors in the picture.

1. Reconstruction has been a major task. In North China this has been hindered by Communist opposition and destruction of railways, public utilities, mines, and any other facilities that might be of value to the National Government. In the territory under the National Government rebuilding has slowly gotten under way, through the efforts of the people with the help of the central and provincial governments, UNRRA and its complementing organization CNRRA (Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), and various Christian and other private relief agencies.

Unfortunately the "taking over" of liberated areas by National Government officials was accompanied in a number of instances by graft, profiteering, get-rich-quick obsession, incompetent business management, and a kind of "carpetbag administration" similar to that from which the Southern States suffered in the tragic era of reconstruction following the American Civil War. All classes, from government em-

ployees down to common laborers, were guilty in a measure of corrupt and greedy practices that evidenced serious moral decline and greatly injured China's prestige abroad.

On the other hand we must pay tribute to thousands of honest officials and splendid leaders in all fields of service who have worked hard to better conditions. Public opinion was aroused against flagrant abuse of government authority in Taiwan (Formosa) and elsewhere, and forced belated administrative changes. Cities once demolished or evacuated are bustling back to life. Railways are operating again in National China. A postwar engineering miracle has been the repair of the great 670-mile Canton-Hankow Railway that links South and Middle China. Large bridges had to be rebuilt; tunnels as long as 470 yards had to be dug out by pick and shovel, roadbeds had to be reconstructed, a quarter of a million ties from the United States and Canada were placed upon them, and rails moved from all parts of China. The job was done by American-trained Tu Chung-yuan and other Chinese engineers and the "bitter strength" of eighty thousand Chinese coolies. Altogether two-thirds of the South China railways are back in operation and the remaining sections are under repair. Every inch of Taiwan's twenty-four hundred miles of track is humming with train wheels. Through UNRRA China has secured to date 192 railway locomotives and 3,450 freight cars to replenish its badly depleted rolling stock. Over twelve hundred miles of highway rendered unserviceable during the war have been put in shape again. During the war China had lost 90 per cent of its shipping. By taking over Japanese ships and by purchasing ships abroad China has brought her shipping tonnage almost to prewar level but this is still very inadequate for present-day needs. China's port facilities were left in bad condition by the Japanese but repairs have been

undertaken and now shipyards are being constructed. The Shanghai harbor is as busy as it was before the war. China's two aviation companies now have air routes covering fifty thousand miles as compared with six thousand before the war. Telephone and telegraph lines have been restored. A great advance is seen in radio; there are 673 stations compared with the prewar number of 171. The postal system is being restored to prewar efficiency.

China is struggling hard to bring its educational program up to prewar standards and to meet the new needs of the time. The courage of the refugee schools during the war years has been highly praised; their eagerness and persistence on the return journey and in rebuilding their old institutions is just as worthy of honor. A few weeks after my return to East China I visited the campus of Hangchow Christian College, one of the loveliest college sites in all Asia. I found the main buildings with holes in their roofs and minus most of their furniture, doors, and windows. Faculty residences had been burned or stripped of all their woodwork. The library had no books, the laboratories no instruments. And yet within half a year teachers and students started work here again. They slept on floors, stood at meals in the dining room and at meetings in the auditorium, studied mimeographed outlines of courses, endured resolutely the austerities of reconstruction, and bore with utmost seriousness their responsibilities as educated youth in a time of national ferment. I found this spirit typical of the schools returning from exile. The number of institutions of higher learning in China is still small, less than two hundred, but there are many times the number of young people applying for admission as before the war, and the influence of these schools reaches further than ever before.

Publishing companies are beset by the most trying difficul-

ties: loss of valuable machinery, shortage of paper, inflation, and high costs of labor. Priority now is given to textbooks for schools. In the year before the war eight thousand new books were published; in 1946 only two thousand were published, and with much smaller editions. But the great Commercial Press (now under the direction of Dr. King Chu, an eminent educator and Christian) and other companies are showing an unshakable determination to do their part in China's recovery. A special library of 463 volumes for middle schools is just off the press.

What is happening in the western provinces whose development was so much accelerated by the war? At first a steady exodus of refugees was observable; now because of the higher cost of living in the coastal provinces the interesting phenomenon of a return migration is taking place. Perhaps one-fourth of the wartime refugees will remain in the west. Many schools, factories, and commercial enterprises started during the war will continue, and there are great plans for railway and road construction, agricultural improvement, and development of water power. The civil war does not affect this area, but postwar restlessness, uncertainties, and difficulties are felt as keenly as anywhere else. Bombed cities are being partly rebuilt. Chungking is as lively a river port as it was before 1937. Kunming at the end of the Burma Road has lost the national and international importance of the war years. A friend wrote that a "G. I. Street," an occasional "Thanks, Buddy" from a ricksha man after he is paid, and the beautiful American Cemetery by Kunming Sea are among the few reminders of the great ingress of American soldiers during the war. But Kunming is now a thriving commercial center with greatly improved truck service and air service to the coast and the hope of railway connections in the near future. One steel

mill and several other industrial plants started during the war are running full blast. Big housing developments are under way. With the end of the war the Ledo or Stilwell Road with its pipeline was closed, and the jungle has claimed it again. The Burma Road is open but has little traffic. Wartime improvement of education has continued. Yunnan today has a growing government university and normal college developed since the departure of Peking National, Tsinghua, and Nankai Universities for North China, and also its first Christian union middle school started during the war.

2. Economic recovery is a second big postwar problem. In the minds of most Chinese this involves some plan for financial stabilization and control of inflation, which has not yet been found. Wholesale prices in Chungking at the end of the war were 1,793 times the 1937 level. Since V-J Day the cost of living has continued to soar. In April, 1947, the index had risen to 6,500 in Chungking and 11,500 in Shanghai. At this writing — January, 1948 — it has increased over 1,000 per cent. West China costs of living are about one-half of East China's. In terms of American currency, living costs are five to ten times what they were before the war. Open market exchange, as I write, is 100,000 Chinese dollars to one American dollar, whereas before the war it was 3.30 to one. Commodities are scarce even for those who can afford to buy them. A suit of clothes costs a professor three month's salary.

The chief reason for inflation has been the gap between government income and expenditure. Huge amounts of paper currency have been issued without adequate backing, and this in turn has been due to extraordinary demands for money when the national economy was disrupted and government receipts were drastically reduced. In 1946 the National Government spent the astronomical sum of two and one-half tril-

lion Chinese dollars; government revenues covered only one-third of this. Essential to a stabilized economy and a balanced budget are: severe curtailment of military expenditures, rehabilitation of communications, a great increase of agricultural and industrial production, and revived foreign trade. Also necessary are: increase of exports, wise economic planning, a more equitable and honest taxation system, far-reaching administrative reforms, and constructive aid from abroad.⁵ A reasonable measure of financial and economic health is a prerequisite to any large-scale program of postwar development. There are signs of slow economic convalescence in some parts of China, but the process is sure to be long and painful.

Foreign aid has come to China since the war largely from UNRRA and the American government. UNRRA sent to China about sixteen hundred specialists in relief and rehabilitation and about half a billion American dollars' worth of food, clothing, textiles, industrial and transportation equipment, hospital equipment and medical supplies, agricultural tools and seed.⁶ One of the biggest and most thrilling jobs undertaken by UNRRA and CNRRA together was the repair of broken dikes in the Yellow River, restoring large areas of farm land to cultivation. Another big task has been the feeding of the population in postwar famine areas. With the closing of the UNRRA program at the end of 1947 the Chinese Government is setting up its own Rehabilitation Commission for long-range reconstruction and relief projects.

China received some other American aid through war surplus materials, Export-Import Bank loans for cotton and other raw materials, and Lend-Lease supplies shipped after V-J Day. The total value of American and UNRRA aid to China during and since the war has been considerably less than three

billions in American money, compared with much larger amounts for Great Britain, Russia, and France. But American aid has been a powerful shot in the arm and may prove to have been a deciding factor in China's economic recovery, along with the natural resilience of the Chinese people.

3. It is not easy to see any great progress as yet toward a solution of China's third serious postwar problem and danger, the internal struggle that seems to be bleeding China white. The desire of the people for peace has been overwhelming, but the way to achieve it has not been so clear. China's political tension is a counterpart of world tension. There are organized Communist Parties in about seventy countries today; the most strongly armed party outside of Russia is in China, with one and one-half million party members and one million soldiers. The civil war goes on in hundreds of isolated pockets all over the north and along the main railroads. The Communist strategy is to take the agricultural and natural resources and let the cities die on the vine; their war is a war of attrition. Their immediate aim is to control North China; their ultimate aim to set up a Communist government for all China. Although military campaigns may check the Communists as an armed rebellion and contain their area of military control, they will not, as so many Chinese leaders themselves have pointed out, solve the basic economic problems that make for desperation and revolution. Perhaps through the agony of these years China is learning some valuable lessons that will help her through crises to come and prepare her for the years of peace. An old Chinese saying is, "If one does not perish in a great calamity, some good fortune is certain to follow." This is true, we may add, if the calamity arouses fresh moral and spiritual energies and shows the way to better life for the individual and the nation.

4. Another serious problem and peril is found in the social and cultural breakdown that has already been mentioned and that will be considered more fully in our next chapter.

5. China's problems are not merely internal; they are international. To the north is the giant Soviet Union. What will be its policy toward China, toward the Chinese Communists, and toward a buffer zone in Manchuria and Korea? Will Japan revive in such a way as to threaten again the peace of Asia? Many Chinese newspapers in recent months, including some liberal ones, have openly expressed fears lest American policy in Japan might be motivated more by America's military interests in the Far East than by Japan's peacetime needs or China's national security. China's profound concern over the future of Japan is a factor not to be ignored. The United States has moved now across the Pacific⁷ and has a vital interest in the affairs of China as of all Asiatic countries. Will this be an unselfish interest, free from imperialistic motives and "dollar diplomacy," or will it make China a battlefield of power politics between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.? These are questions full of dynamite for China. No nation today has a greater stake in collective efforts for peace and in the United Nations, and no nation is more loyal to the cause of international cooperation. Another encouraging sign is China's warm and trusting friendship with the United States, Great Britain, and other democratic countries. She wants to trust also her neighbor Russia.

CRUCIAL CHOICES

We may try to interpret the situation in China today in another way, by pointing out the crucial choices that confront the Chinese people. I have heard many Chinese friends say recently, "We are in a dilemma." The Chinese word is "be-

tween two difficulties." "Which way shall we turn? Is there a *chung-yung*, a middle way? Or a third way that we might find?"

1. China must choose between fascism, democracy, and communism. Most Chinese, I think, would say, "We want democracy — but what kind of democracy, and will we be free to choose?" Both the National Government and the Chinese Communists promise democracy.

The National Government was established in 1928 by the Kuomintang, the People's Party of Sun Yat-sen, after the overthrow of the northern warlords and decadent Peking Government. Notable achievements of the fifty-year-old Kuomintang must be considered alongside its weaknesses and failures. Today after twenty years of power or "trusteeship," to use its own words, it is voluntarily relinquishing its oligarchic control to a coalition government embracing the Kuomintang, Democratic Socialist Party, Young China Party, and independents, and is carrying out its promise of national elections in the autumn of 1947. The interim coalition government will serve until the newly adopted Constitution goes into effect, a president and vice-president are elected by the National Assembly, and the new Legislative Yuan convenes. The National Assembly will convene the end of March, 1948. The results of the first elections may be disappointing, due to China's lack of experience and the dangers of bribery and intimidation. The great body of the population is just beginning to be politically conscious. But a start must be made sometime. Those who support the National Government today believe that, although far from perfect, it offers the best hope of a truly unified, modernized, and democratic China.

The Communists and other leftist critics of the National Government refuse to accept the new Constitution and the

opportunity for elections. They condemn the methods of the political and military die-hards, the arbitrary arrest not only of the Communists but also of non-Communist progressives, the abuses of power by the Kuomintang, the lack of genuine economic reform, and they imply that the only alternative is a Communist or strongly leftist government that will not by ballot but by bullets supplant the present government.

What kind of democracy do the Chinese Communists offer? They were organized as a party in China in 1921, they cooperated with the Kuomintang until the split of 1927, and since that time they have been not only a political opposition but an armed opposition to the central government. Their philosophy is definitely Marxist and Leninist, and their ideological ties with Russia are very strong. They have followed the Russian "line" with all of its peculiar tergiversations as faithfully as any Communist Party in any country. They have a goal in China and are pressing relentlessly toward it. "Our future program is to advance China into the realm of socialism and communism," says Mao Tsê-tung, the Chinese Communist leader.

I met Mao Tsê-tung when he came to Chungking at Chiang Kai-shek's invitation after the Japanese surrender. He impressed me as a highly educated peasant, with a gentle exterior but an inflexible will, natural gifts of leadership, and a fanatical faith in his cause. Chou En-lai, the chief Communist negotiator for many years, has a brilliant mind and a sociable nature, but he is also one of the shrewdest and craftiest Chinese I ever met. Tung Pi-wu, the Communist delegate to the San Francisco Conference, I knew for several years. He is a gentle, elder statesman of the party; if all the Communists were as moderate in their views, compromise would be easy. I have never met Chu Teh, the Communist

commander-in-chief, or Li Lih-san, the fiery military leader in Manchuria today, but respect their abilities and fear their ruthlessness.

But we must return to the question of Communist democracy. It is clear from a study of Mao Tsê-tung's *China's New Democracy* and *The Fight for a New China*⁸ that the Communist aims are: China's revolution as part of the world-wide proletarian-socialist revolution, confiscation of all large land holdings, state ownership of all big industry and business, a close alliance with the Soviet Union, opposition to all Confucian thought, and a new scientific and proletarian culture. Little is said in Chinese Communist literature about general suffrage, an elected government, or political and religious freedom.

The Chinese Communists are strongly organized and well disciplined in action, but devious and cruel in achieving their objectives. During the war the Communist Border Region of the northwest and its capital Yen-an became a showplace of Communist "democracy" that attracted many newspaper correspondents and other foreign visitors. Several books and articles have described the Communist regime that, while definitely totalitarian, brought some economic benefits to the common people.⁹ The Communist government, rooted in peasant life, was relatively inexpensive as compared with the National Government, which had to carry heavy national and international responsibilities. The Communist leaders were relatively free from personal graft and were fanatically devoted to their cause. They had something they could have contributed to the remaking of China if they had been willing to cooperate with other political groups in a genuinely democratic government or federal union.

In their expansion since V-J Day the Chinese Communists

have become more bitter and destructive than during the war. Not only have they wrecked railways and other facilities that the National Government might use to advantage, but they have conducted a brutal campaign against the propertied class, the better-off farmers, the merchants, professional men, and intellectuals in any way critical of communism, and all those who have had connection through relatives or friends with the National Government and Army. The favorite method of liquidation is by rigged-up people's trials in which accusation is brought against undesirables on the basis of "settling old accounts." These old accounts are generally minor offenses, actual or falsified, committed sometimes years before. The sentence more than likely is confiscation of all property, torture by dragging over rough roads or in other ways, or death. Land is being redistributed, but since in North China tenancy is not very prevalent and the average farm is small the poor peasants to whom the Communists are appealing do not receive much. A certain proportion of land is kept for party and army expenses. But because of unsettled conditions and the reign of terror in many areas agricultural production is actually decreasing. Millions of people have fled from Communist rule. Most of the best farmers, ablest merchants, technical men, and professional workers have moved elsewhere. Refugees have aggravated the food problem in National China. The picture that we have given is based upon first-hand reports of missionary and Chinese friends who have come in recent months from Communist territory.¹⁰ It makes one wonder whether the Communist movement, like another powerful uprising with peasant origins in the nineteenth century — the T'ai P'ing Rebellion — may destroy itself through its own cruelties and excesses.

I know some patriotic and progressive Chinese today who

dread a Communist dictatorship and police state as utterly unsuited for China but who yet feel that some kind of storm is needed to clear away the deadwood of vested interest in property and privilege and prepare the way for better government and economic life. Others are sure that neither Kuomintang conservatives nor Communist radicals have the solution and are looking for a third way. Further mediation seems hopeless now, although some day conservatives, moderates, and radicals who will accept majority rule might be able to come together in a Chinese government of, by, and for the people.

The best answer to the Communist bid for power in China would undoubtedly be a reformed and liberal National Government moving steadily toward both political and economic democracy. China must go through many struggles, such as British, American, and French democracy have had in their history, gain experience in self-government the hard way, and try various experiments in adaptation of Western democracy to her own ancient political and social heritage. Neither the Kuomintang nor any other political party can consider China its private possession; the awakened national conscience will not permit it for long. It may take years or decades, but I am confident that a new type of political democracy and cooperative economic order will arise in China. It will be built upon old foundations, traditional village self-government, the strain of liberal thought in China's cultural history, a casteless social democracy that in many ways puts American society to shame, and the lessons learned in the successes and failures of the past generation. It will have a world outlook, a fresh and vigorous leadership, and the spirit of a reborn nation.

2. China faces another crucial choice: shall she imitate our American system of laissez-faire capitalism and free enter-

prise or work toward some kind of state collectivism, economic planning, and socialistic government for the welfare of all classes in the nation? How much state enterprise and control is needed; how much private enterprise — which is more congenial to Chinese traditions — is desirable? Our American system if applied to China would furnish capital, technical ability, machinery, organizational efficiency, and mass production methods. It would also foster unintelligent waste of natural resources, monopolies, concentration of wealth and industrial power, management-labor conflicts, and city slums such as we have had in the West. The government will have to shoulder the responsibility for large-scale industrialization, public works, agricultural improvement, education, medical service, and public health. At the same time private initiative and effort have proved their worth in China and should be encouraged. How much better if China could avoid the mistakes that government and big business management and labor have made in the West! A Communist regime in China would sweep away some evils only to produce others and would shut China off from the free intercourse that she needs with all countries. A middle road must be found and China will find it.

China's agrarian problem is not so simple as the Communists and their sympathizers would make it. The density of population for populated and agricultural China is about 500 per square mile,¹¹ of the Yangtze Valley 850 per square mile. Compare this with 41.3 per square mile in the United States. If all the cultivated farm land in China were equally divided, there would be only about three *mow* or one-half English acre for each individual. Land redistribution would make nobody rich. "For the country as a whole, over one-half of the farmers are owners, less than one-fourth are part

owners, and less than one-fourth are tenants. Compared with other countries the prevalence of tenancy is no greater in China. For instance, England has about 75 per cent of her farmers as tenants, U.S.A. 42 per cent, Germany 25 per cent, and Japan 27 per cent.”¹² Since the law of primogeniture was abolished over two thousand years ago there have been no hard-and-fast economic and social classes. Pearl Buck’s novels of Chinese life show how land is gained and lost within a few generations. An Agricultural Commission composed of eleven American and fourteen Chinese agricultural experts reported in 1946 that the tenancy problem in China is not so serious as many believe.¹³ But it is true that great concentration of land, absentee landlordism with attendant social evils, high rents and exorbitant rates of interest, and oppressive power of the local gentry, do exist in many provinces. The National Government proposes to eradicate these evils by an evolutionary program of land reforms, the Communists by revolutionary methods of confiscation and redistribution.

But much more is involved in rural reconstruction and the betterment of farm life. Agrarian reform is a long-range program that must build upon four thousand years of skillful, intensive farming and the rural culture that went with it; to this experience must be added better utilization of the land, better irrigation, better tools, seed selection, reforestation, a scientific war against animal and plant diseases, rural credits and cooperative marketing, improved means of transportation, educational and health advantages for the villages, and a higher faith to supplant crumbling superstitions. Land reform, agricultural improvement, industrial development, and domestic and foreign trade need to be well planned and fully coordinated. The National Government has given much attention to these scientific and technical aspects of rural

reconstruction, and to the reorganization of *hsien* or county government, which is close to the needs of the farmer. More than a half of the *hsien* magistrates are college graduates.

China's 80 per cent of farmers and laborers are potential revolutionists. Whether they will support a program of liberal reform and good government or participate instead in a radical social revolution depends upon many unpredictable factors within and without China. Intellectuals are coming from the masses; some are returning to guide the masses, either as liberal social educators and reformers or as Communist revolutionists. Farmers and laborers need to develop more literate and progressive leadership from among themselves. This is certain: from now on no Chinese government that exploits the common people can hope to remain long in power.

China's other critical choices can be mentioned only briefly.

3. Shall China become a strong military power or devote her material and human resources largely to peaceful development? What tremendous and thrilling constructive tasks lie ahead of China in the coming century if she does not have to maintain a burdensome military establishment! Shall her new industries be devoted to preparation for war or to the manufacture of equipment and goods that her people need and that will raise living standards? Whether China takes the road of militarization or of peaceful reconstruction will profoundly affect her own destiny and that of all Asia.

4. China in this period of cultural disintegration must find a new center, a new impelling force in her national life. Will this be a revival of her old humanitarian ethics and philosophy, Communist materialism, or some new religious philosophy and faith?

5. If a religious philosophy, will it be one of her own religions in new form or Christianity? If Christianity, will it be a Christianity with many divisions and sects or a united faith and fellowship?

CHINA'S OUTLOOK

What is the outlook for the immediate future? Generalizations and prophecies are always risky in China and never more so than today. But I may venture to comment on some alternatives and possibilities. (1) Neither a complete National nor Communist victory seems probable now. If the Communists receive a military setback south of the Great Wall or in Manchuria, they will probably form a separatist state adjoining the Soviet Union. If the National Armies meet with serious reverses north of the Yangtze River, they will certainly maintain their hold for some time south of the Yangtze. (2) Political coalition between the Kuomintang and the Communists is a chimera in the present intense struggle for power. However, non-Communist liberals have a chance to win seats in the coming national elections. At a more distant date the Communists, if they become more Chinese than Communist, may agree to some workable compromise with the other parties in a national government. (3) A temporary division into two Chinas may eventuate but would be deplored by a great majority of the people. (4) Economic chaos and the breakdown of central political authority might conceivably lead to another period of regional domains similar to the warlord years between 1913 and 1926, or to some kind of fascist government under a strong military man. This would make easier the ultimate Communist conquest of China but not without bloody class warfare and drastic social upheaval. (5) Another government, not Communist, might through a South

American type of revolution or *coup d'état* supplant the present government. This is only a remote possibility since only the Kuomintang and Communists have strong armies. The wings of the old warlords have been clipped and no new ones with any real power have appeared. (6) The present National Government may regain its prestige and popular support by genuine liberalization and reform, by evolving more quickly into the representative and democratic government that the Chinese people want, and by constructive aid from the U. N. and the United States. This last possibility is one that is ardently hoped for and prayed for by a great many intelligent and patriotic Chinese today.

When General Marshall left China in January, 1947, he said, "The solution of the situation as I see it, would be in the assumption of leadership by the liberals in the government and minority parties, a splendid group of men, but who as yet lack the political power to exercise a controlling influence. Successful action on their part would, I believe, lead to unity through good government." What chance does this liberal group now have? Where are the liberals to be found? What hope do they have of becoming a united and effective political force?

Liberals won a strong representation in the interim coalition government organized in April, 1947. A few that may be mentioned are Vice-President Sun Fo, the new premier Chang Chun (former governor of Szechwan), Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh, Finance Minister O. K. Yui, Health Minister Y. T. Tsur, Minister of Defense Pai Chung-hsi, and the nine ministers on the cabinet representing minor parties and non-partisan groups. On the new State Council are several well known Kuomintang liberals, eight members of two other political parties (The Young China Party and Democratic

Socialist Party), and four independents, including the publisher Wang Yun-wu and the banker K. P. Chen who are highly regarded throughout China. A second source of liberal strength is public opinion and the press. In spite of the suppression here and there of papers and magazines that are considered subversive, the *Takungpao* and other liberal papers are continuing their outspoken policy. The people are becoming more vocal. The idea of public opinion polls is spreading to China, with interesting results.¹⁴

Another liberally minded group are the intellectuals — teachers, students, professional men, social workers, rural reconstruction leaders. University presidents and professors have been generally independent in their thinking and have at times shown great courage. Some have been subjected to unwarranted arrest or intimidation by “secret service” gangs. Graduates of high schools and colleges and returned students from abroad do not make up more than one half of one per cent of the population, but their influence is all out of proportion to their numbers. The People’s Education Movement¹⁵ is a strong supporter of liberal causes. President Chiang’s proposal for a ten-year Education for Democracy Movement and a nation-wide literacy campaign is based to a large extent upon the notable experiments of these farsighted social workers who are now banded together in a National Association of Social Education. China has also a growing number of highly capable and progressive businessmen who are working for an honest and efficient government.

China can well be proud of her diplomatic corps, which is one of the most capable and cultured in the world. Most of the men who represent China abroad as ambassadors and consuls or on the assembly and councils of the United Nations have received both Chinese and Western education and are

favorably disposed to Western political liberalism. Few have ever been accused of exploitation of public office for private gain. The revolutionary possibilities of the laboring and farming classes have been mentioned. As in China's past we may expect fresh and dynamic leadership to come out of this great bulk of China's population. Another growingly important liberal force is the Chinese Christian church. Many church leaders, Protestant and Catholic, are familiar names throughout China. Christian laymen are serving in today's government; 15 per cent of the state council and cabinet are Christians. The Catholics have been more conservative on social and political questions than the Protestants; they have taken a more belligerent anti-Communist attitude and have been suspected of wanting to form a Catholic political party. Protestants, while opposing the materialistic philosophy and destructive tactics of the Communists, have tried to study the reasons for their appeal and to propose a positive answer. They have also criticized the government more freely and have at times made bold demands for reform. Both Protestants and Catholics have been active in relief work, social service, and reconstruction during these postwar years and have made a definite contribution to the moral fiber of the nation.

There are varying opinions as to the strength and effectiveness of the liberal movement. One American friend in Nanking wrote recently, "The liberals, whatever we may hope or desire from them, are proving themselves thoroughly futile. Many are purely negative in their criticisms; others are theoretical to a fantastic degree. Most are without courage or sense of individual and group responsibility in public matters. Too large a part are egoistic or factional; they will not cooperate for fear that their own prominence or doctrinaire views will be discounted by compromise and the parts that others want

to play. What I say applies to liberals both within and without the government. We tend to underestimate the lack of political experience, wisdom, and maturity that exists among the politically conscious and the so-called intelligentsia.”¹⁶ My own estimate of China’s liberals is more hopeful than this. It is my conviction that liberals and reformers within are the best answer to radicals from without; and that unless the true patriots and progressives, the capable, honest, and unselfish men and women in China today, will get off the sidelines into the arena and fight for their nation’s salvation and progress, the extremists are likely to win out. If they should, China would turn back to some form of rightist dictatorship or swing over to communist totalitarianism. Either of these dangerous possibilities would hasten the outbreak of a third world war.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

What about Chiang Kai-shek? Is he dictator or democrat, reactionary or liberal, “glorified warlord” or great statesman?

The first time I saw Chiang Kai-shek was at the state funeral of Sun Yat-sen on June 1, 1929. To me this had a special significance because of Chiang’s “chronologically perfect succession” to his revolutionary leader and hero, Sun Yat-sen. Whereas Sun was the prophet and dreamer, Chiang has been the practical statesman, the doer, carrying out Sun’s hopes and ideals in an even more tumultuous period of Chinese history.

Chiang Kai-shek was born on October 31, 1887, at the village of Chikow near Ningpo in the lovely hill country of Chekiang Province. His father, a farmer-merchant, died when he was small; his widowed mother lived until he was thirty-four and left a marked influence on his life. She sent him to the local classical schools and then away from home for a modern

middle school education. As a boy Chiang heard of his country's humiliating defeat by Japan, of Western pressure on China, and then of the reactionary, abortive Boxer Uprising. He became fired with patriotic enthusiasm and decided upon a military career, studying first at a military school in North China, and then on a government scholarship for four years in Japan. It was in Japan that he met Sun Yat-sen and enlisted in his revolutionary cause. He returned to China in 1911 in time to help in the revolutionary campaign that overthrew the Manchu Dynasty. The next ten years of civil strife were uneventful for Chiang, a period of weary disappointment and waiting. But when in 1922 it looked as if the Kuomintang had a chance to establish a modern government in South China, Chiang became chief of staff to Sun Yat-sen. After a trip to Russia he became head of the Whampoa Military Academy and when Sun Yat-sen died in 1925 assumed command of the revolutionary army. Now his military genius burgeoned. When the Kuomintang armies moved northward into the Yangtze Valley, Chiang's name was on everybody's lips. At this time the Chinese Communist Party and Soviet advisers were cooperating with the Kuomintang. But because of their radicalism Chiang broke with them in 1927 and from then on to 1937 gave his untiring efforts to building up a national government at Nanking. By persuasion, by astute political methods, and by force he gradually unified the country and guided it in a decade of great hopefulness and progress despite the Communist opposition and the growing Japanese menace. Then came the eight years of bitter war for national freedom — a period as long as the American War of Independence — and now the shaky years of peace and reconstruction, in which Chiang is still the acknowledged strong man and leader of the country.

Chiang Kai-shek is 60 years old, his closely-cropped hair and well trimmed mustache are graying, the burdens and responsibilities he carries are overwhelming. But his carriage is as erect, his step as firm, his glance as keen, his mind as alert as ever. His physical vitality and endurance are amazing. Once not long after the end of the war I was invited to a quiet Sunday evening meal with President and Madame Chiang. Madame Chiang asked whether it would not be possible soon to get away from the heat and humidity of Chungking and visit some cities in liberated China. President Chiang spoke of the important work yet to be done in preparation for the return of the government to Nanking and then remarked, "I seem to have gotten along all right in this Chungking climate." "Yes, my dear," Madame Chiang replied, "but you are iron and steel. I am only flesh and blood." Chiang Kai-shek has been a man of steel, of inflexible will, of unshakable determination.

Visitors are always impressed by his "mild and magnificent eyes." "Listen to a man's words and look at his eyes," said Mencius. "How can a man conceal his character?" I have seen Chiang's eyes flash with the sternness of a born commander; I have seen them soft and gentle with sympathy and affection. They are the "windows of his soul," and reveal great inner reserves of spiritual strength. His whole appearance and manner suggest serenity, dignity, and decisiveness of character. He is a leader with extraordinary resourcefulness, foresight, and fearlessness.

Chiang's living habits are almost Spartan. He rises early and puts in a full day of grueling work: appointments, speeches, military conferences, traveling, and writing. He eats simple meals and does not smoke nor drink. For recreation he will take a walk, play Chinese chess, or occasionally see a

Chinese drama or good motion picture. In conversation he is friendly but reserved. He has an engaging smile and likes a good story or joke although he himself does not indulge much in humor or "small talk." He has a passion for neatness and regularity, but makes no display of power or pomp. Visitors usually find him in a simple uniform or in Chinese dress without insignia or decorations.

I am convinced that he is a man of personal incorruptibility and of noble character. The slanderous gossip circulated about him and Madame Chiang a few years ago was proved to be utterly false. "Let the truth dispel the rumors," was all that he would say when I asked him once about this smear campaign against him. He has not hesitated to mention his Christian faith in public addresses, but he has never tried to exploit it for political advantage. To him being a Christian is a matter of private conviction and a source of spiritual comfort and strength.

Chiang Kai-shek's contribution to China in this yeasty transition era must await the judgment of history. He is, I think, one of the greatest men that Chinese civilization has produced, and his stature will grow with time. His hold upon the people of China for twenty years, even when the prestige of his government has declined, is a remarkable phenomenon. "A sheet anchor of the country," he has been called. He has been a military leader and statesman far above the level of old warlords and petty politicians about him. He has been able to attract and inspire many able and honest men, but not enough. He has shown superb skill in holding together various factions; critics forget how often he has faced revolts from the right as well as from the left. But like so many great men he has been limited by the men and events of his time. In many ways he is an epitome of his race, reflecting both their splendid virtues

and their grave weaknesses. He is not a superman; faults and failings he certainly has. His very obstinacy, which was a virtue in defending China, may prove to be a handicap in the difficult adjustment from war to peace and democracy.

From twenty years of acquaintance with him and through study of most of his speeches and writings, I believe that he is a liberal patriot working for the best welfare of his country as he sees it. He has been a growing statesman. In my experience he has always welcomed critical and constructive suggestions. Once after I had visited several provinces in Free China, he asked me my impressions. I began to make first some favorable comments. He stopped me short. "I know those things; tell me what you didn't like or think should be changed." One may differ with his political opinions or question his social and economic program, but it is hard to deny his consistent passion for a unified and progressive China. He has never felt that Communist rule would be good for China but he also has never swerved from his purpose to establish a constitutional democracy in China. Repeatedly he has repudiated the idea that he wanted to be a dictator; I am sure that he would much rather be known as China's George Washington. Others will continue his work. There will be Chinese Thomas Jeffersons, Andrew Jacksons, and Abraham Lincolns to succeed him and express more fully the people's democracy, but he has laid the foundations for the new China.

From toil and sweat and tears you built
A stubborn dream whose valor sang
Wherever free men's blood is spilt —
CHIANG!¹⁷

Madame Chiang (Mei-ling Soong) has been his wife and inspiring companion for twenty years. Chiang Kai-shek is not Western-trained and has visited only Japan, Russia, India,

and North Africa. He has not yet been to the United States nor Europe. Madame Chiang has been ears and eyes for him in his contact with the Western world, a two-way interpreter of singular skill and charm. During the early years of the war she organized the women of China, started homes for "war-phans," and engaged in all kinds of patriotic and relief activities. Her visit to the United States and Canada in 1943 made a brilliant impression. Then her health broke and she was forced to take long medical treatment and rest. In 1945 she returned to the Generalissimo's side, and although still not strong, is a constant support and inspiration to him.

Disagreements within China have been paralleled by sharp differences of opinion in the United States over American policy toward China. During the war we aided China as an ally. Does aid now in reconstruction constitute "bolstering" of the National Government and taking side in internal politics? How can we best help China without strengthening reactionary elements in power on the one hand or encouraging the forces that make for chaos and violent upheaval on the other? Is there hope of strengthening the liberal and forward-looking groups in and out of the present government? These are questions of deep concern to all Western friends of China. Certainly we cannot and should not "pull out of China" entirely, as some suggest, and disown our historic friendship with the Chinese people. Now is the very time to demonstrate our genuine and unselfish concern, our patience, sympathy, and confidence in the stronger and better China that will emerge.

Some recent writers have created confusion in the American mind by destructive criticisms of China that lack historical perspective and balanced judgment.¹⁸ Such criticisms can easily arouse the antagonism of reactionary elements or play

into the hands of radical elements in China. What China needs today is friends who can see her potentialities of renewed greatness, understand her virtues and faults, stand by her in her trials, encourage the forces of reform, and strengthen her corporate life against dangers within and without. So may they help to bring about the moral and spiritual resurgence without which a new national advance is impossible in China or in Asia. And to the good men and women of China I would say, "Renew your confidence in yourselves and your faith in God." Or, as was said under other circumstances, "Do not despair, but if you do, work on in despair." ¹⁹

More important than anything we say to China or do for China is our example to her as a nation. A study of our own history makes us grateful, but it should also make us humble as we try to help an older civilization and younger republic like China. Our own War of Independence a little less than two centuries ago was not an easy struggle. There were times when defeat appeared imminent. Six uncertain and difficult years elapsed between the end of that war and the setting up of our republic — with a population of only three million compared with China's nearly five hundred million today. We tend to idealize our national heroes and make myths of their achievements but we know that there are dark pages in our history. It took us decades to achieve complete suffrage, nearly eighty years of struggle and a war costing four hundred thousand lives to free the Negro slaves, and today not all our colored citizens are free to vote nor are our white citizens all interested in voting. Our Revolutionary War was followed by violent disputes and financial depression; our War between the States by the inefficient Grant Administration and the bitterness and hatred of the reconstruction period in the South; our First World War by oil scandals and graft among highly placed

officials. We had our "gilded age" with its stock gamblers, new industrial magnates, robber barons, and gangsters. Today our social, economic, and moral problems are far from being solved. We must admit one-party systems in several states, dirty political machines in many cities, evils of party patronage, millions of tenant and sharecropper families in the South, racial injustices, and the unwillingness of many able men to enter public life. China is grappling with her concentration of land, we with our concentration of wealth. And yet we have an American dream embodied in the lives of great men of our history and enshrined in the hearts of our fellow countrymen. This dream still beckons us on.

Some take delight today in lecturing China as an adolescent delinquent. Perhaps we might help her more by sympathetic and constructive help on her problems. There is a Chinese dream in the hearts of her best leaders and people, a dream that if realized will benefit the world just as much as the American dream. It will be like our dream in some ways, different in others, but it will add its own bright colors to the new world dream. May that reflect the dream for mankind in the heart of God!

One of the most popular wartime dramas in China was built about the heroic resistance of a Sung Dynasty patriot, Wen Tien-hsiang, to the Mongol invaders. Imprisoned at last and facing death, he says in calm and measured phrases to his friends and enemies and to generations to come, "From of old all men had to die; only let my loyal name shine upon the pages of history." China has been loyal to the worldwide cause of freedom. She will remain loyal. It is for us, too, to be loyal to China and to our vision of a free and cooperative world community. Then the sacrifices of these years in China and in the world will not have been in vain.

CHAPTER FIVE

TWILIGHT OR DAWN?

MANY GOOD STORIES ARE TOLD ABOUT DR. HU SHIH, China's outstanding scholar and educator and former ambassador at Washington. One that I like especially, because it is so expressive of Dr. Hu's philosophy as well as his playful humor, tells of an invitation he received from a prominent American lady to address a certain meeting. She wrote in a very flowery style such as she thought befitted correspondence with a distinguished Oriental representative, using many an "honorable" for him and "humble" for herself. The Chinese ambassador could have excelled the American lady in fine English phrases but he chose to reply with two brief and pointed Anglo-Saxon words, "Can do." (Dr. Hu had neither the excessive humility nor the witlessness of the Chinese bond salesman who printed on his English business card, "Invest your valuable money in my worthless bonds.")

LITERARY RENAISSANCE

Dr. Hu Shih has been called the "father of China's literary renaissance," a movement that began in 1917 to promote a new literary style and literature in the language of the common people. The great body of classical prose and poetry, and all official histories and documents, are written in *wen-li* (or *wen-yen*), a style of vivid terseness and rhythmic beauty but not easy to understand. It is not as different from the ordinary spoken Chinese as Latin or Old English is from modern

English since the speech even of the unschooled Chinese is seasoned with many classical phrases and allusions. However, so many years of hard study are necessary in order to read and write the classical style well that only the leisurely scholar class can really master it. Dr. Hu and his friends saw that the masses of China could not be made literate in this *wen-li* style. Instead they chose the *pai-hua*, "white speech" or "plain speech," the much simpler vernacular style in which many of China's most popular novels, dramas, and folk tales had been written, and proposed that this be the standard written language. Dr. Hu pays tribute to the early Protestant missionaries who had the foresight and courage to translate the Bible and to prepare readers in this language of the people as well as in the classical style demanded by scholars.

The *pai-hua* idea swept China like wildfire and became what the Chinese call a "new thought tide." Here was a revolutionary break with the traditional past, a simpler style for popular education, and the promise of a new literature suited to the needs of the modern day. Thousands of books, magazines, and newspapers in the vernacular style, which a child or adult with a few years of schooling could easily read, began to pour off the presses. Primary school textbooks were changed entirely to the *pai-hua*, or what is now called *kuo-yü*, the national language. Thus China almost overnight had a new written language that was yet linked with four thousand years of literary history. "Can do!"

The vernacular style, like the classical style (which is still taught in middle schools and colleges), makes use of the old Chinese character or ideograph, and is thus a continuation of China's literary past. Various phonetic systems and romanized forms of the Chinese language, with alphabets, have been proposed but none has gained wide currency. There are two

serious difficulties: the small number of different sounds in Chinese characters (between four and five hundred), and the various dialects with different pronunciations of the same character. The Peiping pronunciation has been adopted as the standard for the national language but there are still widely variant sounds in China for the same word. The character thus becomes a common symbol, like Arabic numerals and other mathematical symbols that are used the world around but pronounced differently. Also, we recognize thousands of objects and faces of friends without their being phonetically marked. In the same way a Chinese recognizes a character. He sees it as a unit.

Not only did China's literary revolutionists seek to popularize the vernacular style in literature but they also began scientific studies and experiments to select the characters that a child or illiterate adult should first attempt to learn. While a complete Chinese dictionary contains over forty thousand characters, this is like our large English dictionaries, which include many archaic, uncommon, and scientific words that an ordinary person would not know. Similarly in China it was found that four to five thousand characters would be sufficient to print a newspaper or a book in *pai-hua* for general reading. The Thirteen Books of the Confucian Classics were found to have 6,544 different characters, many of them not in common use today. On the other hand, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's famous revolutionary charter, *San Min Chu I*, used only 2,134 different characters. A primary school pupil in six years could learn to read and write about three thousand characters. The New Testament in the vernacular style (formerly called Mandarin) has 2,713 different characters, the whole Bible 4,182.¹

James Yen and other social educators set out to reduce further the number of essential characters for the illiterate

adult to learn. The Mass Education Movement uses what might be called a "basic Chinese" with 1,319 characters of special value to farmers and laborers. It also introduced simpler forms of writing certain characters and added the phonetic script by the side to help the reader in getting the right pronunciation. Chinese characters are joined together in two's, three's, and four's to form common terms, expressions, and idioms. James Yen found that his adult schools could teach a bright farmer to read a thousand characters in idioms and sentences within four months. To write them well requires more time.

Two different models of Chinese typewriters have recently been invented for writing Chinese characters, one by Lin Yutang. They are cumbersome and need further improvements but already they are in demand for simplifying office work.

The next development will certainly be some form of phonetic or alphabetical writing for general use. However, this will come much more slowly since such a mass of Chinese literature is already in the character and the Chinese people are so accustomed to and fond of this kind of writing. Calligraphy in China has been not simply a means of expressing ideas on paper but a highly respected art. Tremendous changes have already taken place in the Chinese language during the past twenty-five years. Not only is the style being simplified and the selection of basic characters making easier the fight against illiteracy, but the output of new literature, translations of foreign books, and original Chinese productions has been amazing. Even during the war we saw a constant stream of novels, poems, songs, dramas, books on philosophy and social problems, translations from English, Russian, and other languages poured off the presses. Bookstores are always crowded

with buyers and readers. The new social revolution has begun to manifest itself in a new literature.

I have described rather fully this phase of China's cultural revolution because it is a movement that has come from the bottom up and not from the government down, and because it is a sign of vigorous new life, sponsored by the honored scholar class and not by generals and politicians. Many think erroneously that everything in China depends upon good government. The literary renaissance had its start in the warlord period. Government is necessary but it is definitely limited in the good it can do. It cannot be credited with all the progress in a country or blamed for all the evils. It cannot create by fiat a new literature or culture. That must express the aspirations, the struggles, the soul of a people. The modifications in the Chinese language that are now taking place show that China can change rapidly.

Before we try to answer the question whether a general cultural rebirth is coming in China we must look again for a moment at China's history. Recent archaeological discoveries, such as the Oracle Bones unearthed in Honan Province, are throwing new light on the Shang Period in the second millennium before Christ (from the time of Abraham on). "Shang culture," says Dr. William Charles White, keeper of the marvelous East Asiatic Collection in the Royal Ontario Museum, "contained basic elements of the arts, crafts, religious beliefs, and social institutions which have carried through the succeeding three thousand years of Chinese history."² The signs and pictographs used in writing were the first forms of the Chinese characters and Chinese literature. The next three millenniums of Chinese culture have been characterized by several writers³ as the classical, the Buddhist-Taoist, and the neo-Confucian period or Confucian revival. Now at the end of

the fourth millennium we are coming to an entirely new period when China is seeking to restudy and re-evaluate her cultural heritage, learn from Western science, government, philosophy, and religion, and find a new destiny, "*chi-wang-k'ai-lai*, or conserve the past and create a new future."

CONFUCIAN INFLUENCE

China has been dominantly Confucian in its way of thought and life. Indeed China cannot be understood apart from the influence of Confucius. "The history of China has been the continuous flowering out of the Confucian doctrine."⁴ Confucius, who lived in the sixth century B.C. at a time of internal turmoil, was primarily a political reformer and teacher of family and social ethics. He was reverent in his attitude to *t'ien*, heaven, and he believed profoundly in the moral order of the universe and moral law in human life, but he was a humanist and humanitarian, not a religious prophet or leader. His moral teachings have been the basis of Chinese social organization up to recent times. Today one section of Chinese thought would hold to the best in Confucius and build upon it. A revival of interest in Confucius has been noticeable. His birthday, August 27, is now observed as Teachers' Day. President Chiang Kai-shek, who as a boy was steeped in the Confucian classics, quotes frequently from them. His reply to a tribute of Oxford professors in 1939 is thoroughly Confucian in tone: "I look up at the boundless firmament of thought that has one face for all men, whether for you scholars in England or for me, a soldier, in China. And then I feel in my heart the moral principles that I believe alone support the order that obtains in those vast spaces. . . . The culture of my beloved nation . . . is built upon a profound conception of order."⁵

Today many in China are losing faith in these great princi-

ples; others are disturbed by the collapse of the old and stable Confucian social order; the Communists and a considerable number with them are attacking Confucianism as feudalistic, backward-looking, and because of its paternalism, emphasis upon authority, depreciation of women, and outworn ritual, a hindrance to social progress. The Communists would be expected to oppose Chinese religions; their assault on Confucianism shows that they are determined to pull up Chinese culture by the roots in order to substitute something radically different. Even some Western writers are taking up the cry and are blaming most of China's present ills upon poor Confucius.⁶

It is true that many features of Confucianism are being and should be discarded; they do not fit the new day. But Confucius cannot be torn out of Chinese life and culture any more than Plato or Aristotle can be torn out of Western culture. China still needs Confucius' emphasis upon the "princely man," the statesman with personal virtue, and his passion for righteousness in public life. China needs his vision of the *Ta-T'ung*, the Great Harmony or Great Commonwealth, his belief in the power of ideas and of character as expressed in a popular old Confucian reader: "Other persons may wear their sabers; I have a pen mightier than a sword."⁷ Mencius, the great interpreter of Confucius, stated ideas that are a firm foundation for democracy: "The people first, the guardian spirits of the land next, and the least important the ruler." To Prince Liang in his royal garden he said, "Sire, happiness comes only when you share your joy with the people." He advocated the popular overthrow of tyrants. And in one of the finest passages of Chinese literature he defined the Confucian ideal of the virtuous man in public office: "He dwells in the wide dwelling place of the world; he stands in the correct sta-

tion of the world; he walks in the Great Way of the world; when he realizes his desire for office, he practises his principles for the good of the people; when his desire is not fulfilled he practises them alone. Riches and honors cannot corrupt him; poverty and meanness cannot swerve him; force and violence cannot bend him — this, we may say, is the truly great man.”⁸ The note of universality is almost prophetic of the age in which we live.

RELIGIONS IN CHINESE LIFE

But even with ancestor worship and sacrifices added to its humanitarian ethics Confucianism could not satisfy the deepest religious needs of the Chinese people. And so in the first millennium after Christ two other fibers were woven into the rich texture of Chinese thought and life, Taoism and Buddhism. Buddhism came as a foreign religion over the trade routes from India soon after the birth of Christ. Within a few hundred years it had become naturalized on Chinese soil. Confucian emperors and scholars persecuted it but it continued to grow. Its literature, translated by thousands of Chinese pilgrims and students, could appeal to only a select group; it was too profound for the masses. But Buddhism gave China beautiful temples amid charming scenery, a new art and architecture, colorful images, elaborate forms of worship, relief from the austerity and fatalism of Confucian philosophy, hope of escape from suffering, and a simple, practical ethics, “do good, shun evil, cleanse the inward heart, be kind to all living things — for merit in the next life,” that the common people could easily appreciate. Only a small number took the Buddhist vows of celibacy and poverty and became monks; but all could visit the temples, burn incense before the gods, pray to Buddha and the Goddess of Mercy, join in colorful

pilgrimages, and chant *O-mi-t'o-fu* (adoration to Amitabha Buddha). Many Buddhist sects have developed in China, the most influential being the Ch'ing T'u or Pure Land Sect, which emphasizes meditation, learning, ritual, and devotion to Buddha.

Taoism was a native product of China. The teachings of the mysterious Lâu-tze and his disciples regarding *Tao* or "The Way," the law of nature, non-action and quietism, inward calm and the path to immortality, make up philosophical Taoism, which is a very different thing from the religion of Taoism as later developed. Religious Taoism became a plethora of magic and superstition, alchemy, astrology, geomancy, fortune-telling, and exorcism. It had its own pantheon of nature deities and national heroes, and its priests who preyed upon the fears of the people. Various Buddhist and Taoist beliefs and practices have combined with primitive animism, the worship of ancestors, and Confucian moral codes to form what we call the popular religion of the masses. This religious tolerance in Chinese history is in striking contrast to the religious wars in the history of India.

Today we see the old religious structure in China cracking under the impact of modern education, social movements, and science. A great many superstitious elements will inevitably slough off. Other customs, like our Hallowe'en customs, will persist even when their religious significance is forgotten. The Chinese will not easily give up their love of folk tales, their stories about genii, demons, and famous heroes that Taoism has encouraged. Some popular religious ideas, customs, and festivals in purified form may be absorbed into Chinese Christianity. Philosophical Buddhism and Taoism will remain an important part of China's cultural heritage. Temples and shrines that suffered heavy material damages during the war

will be repaired in part but will probably never again have the religious influence they once had. Since most of them are built in places of great scenic beauty they will continue to attract pilgrims and visitors who love nature and appreciate art. Even before the war an increasing number of temples were being used for educational and social purposes and for billeting of soldiers. Buddhism will continue to draw some who desire to escape the cares and frustrations of mortal life. Eminent Buddhist scholars, such as the late Abbot T'ai Hsu, founder of the Wuchang Buddhist Seminary; Abbot Yuan-yin, leader of the Chinese Buddhist Association; and Mr. Ouyang Ching-wu, head of the Nanking Buddhist Institute, have tried hard to inaugurate reforms, add relief activities and social service, and in other ways modernize Buddhism, but even they have found it difficult to restore the old appeal of the Buddhist faith in a new day of social upheaval and world-wide cultural interchange.

Two other important religions, both monotheistic, have come to China from outside, Islam and Christianity. China is thus a meeting ground of five great religions, each with over one hundred million world adherents. Mohammedanism entered China more than a thousand years ago through Moslem traders and soldiers. Large Moslem communities arose under the Mongol Dynasty (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Through Arabian commerce Islam pressed into Northwestern China. Today there are probably twenty million Moslems in China, the majority in the northern and western provinces. They are considered a more or less separate group with distinctive religious and social customs; in fact they constitute China's largest and oldest alien cultural stock. But they are not as fanatical as their fellow-religionists in India and other Moslem areas, their women have a higher status, and they

are being gradually absorbed into Chinese society. Some prominent Chinese leaders today are Moslems: General Pai Chung-hsi, the present Minister of National Defense, is one of them.

The first record of Christianity in China tells how Nestorianism came from Central Asia in the seventh century. It did not survive except on the borders of the empire. The Roman Catholic form of the faith was brought to China by Franciscans in the Mongol Era, but again disappeared, and by Jesuits in the latter half of the sixteenth century when it took root. Roman Catholic missionaries made considerable headway at first because of their skill in mathematics and science and their tolerance toward the Confucian cult. Later severe persecutions broke out. This was in the millennium of revived Confucianism, when Confucian literati selected in the old civil service examination system wielded immense power. But Catholicism persisted. The first Protestant missionary landed in 1807; reformed Christianity is therefore only 140 years old in China. But it has grown steadily, in numbers and in influence, especially in the twentieth century. The Eastern Orthodox Church has never been prominent in China.

Another element in Chinese culture must not be overlooked: the love of nature and rural life, the simple and homely enjoyment of material pleasures that Lin Yutang well portrays in his *Importance of Living*. Remember that the farmer and the laborer come second only to the scholar in the Chinese social scale. Even the poor Chinese peasant, who has been often pictured by foreigners as a slave to his landlord and to the soil and oppressed in body and spirit, has been able to get a wonderful interest and joy out of a life that we would consider miserably drab and monotonous. Chinese rural culture has been rich in seasonal change and social color, in

market days and festivals, in celebrations and pilgrimages, in trades and handicrafts, in fascinating traditions and in present delights. Confucius said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow — I still have joy." Poverty, ignorance, superstition, disease, drudgery, are all there — more depressing generally to the Westerner than to the Chinese himself — but lightened by the Chinese ability to endure, to enjoy, to play, and to laugh. Often in wayside teashops or rural homes I have found on a scroll this famous old poem of Liu Yu-hsi:

Height cannot claim
For mountains fame:
Depth is not sign
Of waters divine.
The mountains are high
When spirits are nigh;
The waters are deep
When dragons they keep.
My hut may be mean,
My life may be drear;
But sweet is the scene,
For virtue is here.⁹

CHINA IN FERMENT

Since the beginning of the twentieth century China's doors have been opened wide to cultural influences from the West: Western political ideas and social philosophies, Western sciences and technology, Western cultures that root in our Greek-Roman-Hebrew-Christian heritage, and the dynamic ideology of Marxian Communism. China needs and wants scientific knowledge and spirit but dreads some of the results of science. Western secularism is coming in to reinforce Chinese naturalism and humanism. Diverse ideas of democracy,

freedom, and economic well-being meet and clash on the Chinese battleground. New faiths have come in to rival ancient religions. Communism denounces Confucianism as a shackling philosophy and all religions as opium of the people. It tries to force the conservative village women of Shantung to travel afar and participate in political meetings and to make bashful country maidens dance with Communist soldiers in defiance of old social customs. This may be an effective method to force modernization upon a conservative province, one missionary writes, but much good is being uprooted along with the bad. Whatever is alien to the best in China's moral and spiritual heritage cannot permanently survive in China. Today, however, the people feel insecure. Bewildered, they grope for something sure to take the place of passing certainties. They are yearning for a new moral authority.

No wonder that China is in ferment. The old encrusted soil has been plowed deep by war, struggle, social unrest, and suffering. New seeds will be sown, but what seeds and what harvest? What shall be kept from the past; what shall be thrown away? A new culture will grow through the conflict. The literary renaissance opened the way for a new national literature, a new literature on international affairs, and a new religious literature. China will need an intensive educational and spiritual preparation for representative democracy and cooperative enterprise. Confucianism has been a noble moral philosophy for China but it has become too sterile, too uninspiring. New streams of life are needed in the old channels. Gung-hsing Wang, a student of Confucianism, says, "We are a nation of good individuals but poor citizens. We are able to distinguish ourselves individually, but our record of performance decreases as more persons are required to do a job jointly."¹⁰

China wants to remain China, not become a copy of the U. S., Britain, or Russia. Yet it needs a new impulse, a new spiritual dynamic. A veneer of Western civilization such as Japan acquired may be more dangerous than useful. A Chinese operator of a hamburger stand in Shanghai, eager to display his familiarity with this American specialty, displayed a sign, "We Use Absolutely American Methodists."¹¹ China should find her own methods suited to her own genius and work out her own synthesis of the best in East and West.

The religious situation in China is comparable to that in the Roman Empire at the time of Christ. Old gods no longer answer the deepest spiritual aspirations of the people. There is much that is fine in China's past to build upon but a new structure is needed. The old culture is dying; a new culture is not yet born. What a day of peril and promise!

President Y. C. Yang says, "Confucianism is too humanistic . . . Buddhism is too pessimistic . . . Taoism is too fantastic. . . . Only Jesus presents the complete circle."¹² The Christian gospel, the same yesterday, today, and forever, yet renewing itself in each generation and in each culture that it touches — is this China's supreme need today? Will Christianity be the fulfillment of the best in China's spiritual heritage, "the instrument," as Dr. T. C. Chao says, "whereby China's needed spiritual synthesis may somehow and someday be effected"?¹³ China has many religions but no other great redemptive religion like Christianity. China has many philosophers and teachers but no radiant personality and Saviour of mankind like the world's Jesus. China has her ethical and religious classics but no such literature of power as the Bible, the word of the Living God. China has had close-knit family and clan organizations, secret societies, trade guilds, brotherhoods and benevolent bodies, neighborhoods and rural com-

munities, temples and religious orders, but nothing that can compare with the world-wide fellowship of the Christian church. At times of great evil and suffering China may turn to Confucius with his stoic facing of suffering, or Buddha with his escape from suffering, or Lâo-tze with his fatalistic acceptance of suffering, but the Christian message of the Cross and of the Resurrection brings hope in suffering and triumph over suffering and evil.

Think what the Christian gospel might give to China at this crucial time and what China might give to world Christianity out of its cultural wealth. President Chiang Kai-shek said to a small group of Christians two years ago, "The next ten years will be the years of supreme Christian opportunity in China." Others have said that Christianity may have twenty years to impress deeply a plastic China; then the new cultural forms will begin to harden. Professor Walter Marshall Horton of Oberlin, after a visit to Free China in 1938, wrote, "Christianity has in China such an opportunity as it possesses nowhere else to reorganize the whole of a great civilization from center to circumference. . . . A modern Chinese Christian civilization would be something grander and more deserving of reverence than medieval Western Christendom was. . . . It might become the nucleus of a new Asiatic culture, or even a new world culture, if it remained in vital contact with other Christian forces." ¹⁴

A non-Christian Chinese friend once said to me, "China has had two great creative periods in her culture, first in the Han Dynasty when Confucianism came to flower, and then in the T'ang Dynasty when Buddhism came to flower. The next creative period, I believe, will be when Christianity comes to flower."

CHAPTER SIX

IN WEAKNESS STRENGTH

WHAT IS YOUR MOST VIVID MEMORY OF THE RECENT WAR? To many, it is the moment when they first heard the startling news of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Early reports reached the United States on that quiet Sunday afternoon of December 7; they reached us in West China (12 hours ahead of New York) about two o'clock the morning of the eighth. I was awakened from a sound sleep by a telephone call from the Governor of Szechwan Province asking me to listen in to San Francisco on my short wave radio set and get further details for him.

We knew as you did in America that this meant war in the Pacific. For our Chinese friends it was a release from long tension; now at last China would have allies. But we realized, too, what new trials China would have to endure: Japanese attacks from Indo-China and Burma, a complete blockade by sea, stoppage of all communications between Free China and the coastal cities of Shanghai and Hongkong, the end of steamer transportation across the Pacific, and fresh dangers to all those in occupied territory who had any connection with the anti-Axis powers. We envisaged the internment of our fellow-missionaries and other foreign friends who had not left invaded China, further persecution of the Christian churches because of their relation to the countries opposing Japan, a complete cessation of foreign missionary aid — personnel and finance — to Christian work under Japanese surveillance, and

a new wave of refugees into Free China. Could the church meet this new test after all that she had already been through?

On that memorable morning of December 8 I happened to be on the program of a Methodist conference in session at Chengtu. In my journal for that day is the Scripture verse I spoke on, "When I am weak, then am I strong."¹ As I look back on the war years in China I am surer than I was at the time of Pearl Harbor — the halfway mark — that the Chinese church in its weakness was given a strength beyond its own. God's grace was sufficient; his power was made perfect in human weakness.

HOW FARED THE CHURCH?

How did the Chinese church weather the devastating invasion and long Japanese occupation? Remember that Protestant Christianity is not yet a century and a half old in China. Remember that it is not yet fully self-supporting, not yet fully united. The Protestant faith was brought to China not by one single Christian organization — such as the Roman Catholic Church — but by over 140 different denominational and independent missionary societies from the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand. The Protestant Church is still in the process of becoming indigenous. The large number of missions may suggest confusion and competition. Actually there has been a large measure of comity, with missions assuming responsibility for different geographical areas. Only in the larger cities have there been several denominations together. Gradually the churches planted by the various missionary societies have united to form a smaller number of Chinese church bodies. For example, churches stemming from the work of six Anglican and Epis-

copal missions of four countries have joined to become the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (Holy Catholic Church of China); about a thousand churches founded by fifteen different Presbyterian, Reformed, Congregational, and other missions are now united in the Chung Hua Chi Tu Chiao Hui (Church of Christ in China). In 1937 the twelve largest such groups — including those with the background of Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Anglican, and other communions — had about 78 per cent of the total Protestant Church membership. One of these comprised most of the churches established by the interdenominational China Inland Mission. Also, three-fifths of the total Protestant membership was cooperating in the National Christian Council and another one-fifth was affiliated. There was still a perplexing variety of smaller mission groups and, following the unfortunate example of Western denominationalism, distinctly Chinese sects were springing up. But the trend has been steadily toward warmer fellowship and closer cooperation. China, like India, had advanced far more rapidly toward church union than the United States.

In 1936 a study by the National Christian Council showed a Protestant Church membership of 536,089 in more than 7,000 organized congregations and 8,000 branch churches and chapels. The number of Chinese pastors and other full-time church workers was over 14,000; the number of foreign missionaries about 6,000. The total Protestant constituency was about one million, including "inquirers" preparing for baptism and children of Christian families. The Roman Catholics reported a constituency of 2,700,000. Protestant and Roman Christians together are not quite one per cent of the whole population; yet, as has often been said, the proportion of Christians among leaders in all fields of activity is much higher

and the influence of the church extends far beyond its number of adherents.

When my parents went as missionaries to China nearly sixty years ago there were about 35,000 Protestant Christians in the whole country. Today there are twenty times that number. Then Christian higher education and secondary education were just beginning; today there are 13 Christian universities and more than 200 Christian middle schools (249 in 1936). Then there were a few scattered hospitals and clinics; before the Sino-Japanese War there were 232 Christian hospitals with 855 missionary and Chinese doctors and a capacity of more than 16,000 beds. The majority of these hospitals are now open. Then the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. had not started their fine work. In 1937 the Y.M.C.A. had 40 active, self-supporting city associations and the Y.W.C.A. had 18, in addition to a large number of student associations. Then theological training was given largely by individual missionaries; now China has several excellent theological seminaries of college and postgraduate grade, and many more training schools and Bible institutes for less advanced church workers.

The recent war wrote a tragic and yet triumphant chapter in the history of the Chinese church. In spite of serious setbacks and losses the church was brought to a new stage of growth and maturity. Always after an upheaval in China the church has gone forward in an amazing way. This was true after the T'ai P'ing Rebellion, the Boxer Uprising, the Revolution of 1911, the anti-Christian movement and national revolution of 1925-1927. Today the church is showing signs of another advance after trial. It met the bitter test of war and destruction; it identified itself with the suffering and homeless; it won for itself a new place in the life of the nation; it represents now a moral and spiritual power that China des-

perately needs. To meet the calls and opportunities of the postwar period it again must become strong when it is weak.

From all that I have been able to see, hear, and read, I estimate that at least one-third of the mission and church property in China — schools, hospitals, churches, residences, and other buildings — was destroyed or badly damaged in fighting, looting, or occupation by military forces. In the first two years of war 150 mission compounds had been hit by bombs or shells. Eight city Y.M.C.A. buildings were entirely demolished; many others were plundered; one-half had to close down. In some provinces the destruction was much more severe than in others. During the early years of the war the coastal provinces were more affected, later the central provinces and bombed cities of West China. Many congregations were scattered, temporarily or permanently. In other areas attendance at meetings was rendered more difficult and pastoral visitation, Bible classes, and the service program of the churches had to be curtailed. The migration to West China drained away some strong leadership from the occupied provinces. In some church districts there was heavy loss in membership; in other districts surprising gains were made. The Kwangtung Synod of the Church of Christ in China, for example, reported twenty-five thousand members in 1935 and fifty-four thousand in 1945. That the great majority of church leaders and members should have remained loyal to their faith and have continued their Christian witness under such distressing conditions is a cause for gratitude and joy.

To many "it was given not only to believe on His name but also to suffer for His sake." Early in the war hundreds of Christians were killed in the path of the Japanese conquest or in reprisals on villages of North and East China. A large group of pastors were imprisoned for seventy days in Suchow of

north Kiangsu; everywhere church workers were in danger of sudden arrest and torture. After Pearl Harbor more than forty Christian leaders in the Congregational churches about Fenyang, Shansi, were captured; twelve of these were tortured to death or died in prison. One of the survivors reported, "It was hell for our bodies but our spirits soared to heavenly places." Many such stories could be told; the spirit of the church could not be broken either by direct persecution or by long years of spiritual suffering under Japanese oppression.² When churches were closed pastors or lay workers found other places to worship. The Baptist congregation in Shaohing, Chekiang, was forced to meet elsewhere in the city; after a few months the Japanese authorities relented and opened the church building again to the members although they still used the church tower as a lookout!

The Japanese Army tried to force the churches of Occupied China into a kind of political-ecclesiastical union. Bishop Z. T. Kaung of the Methodist Church in North China and Christian leaders in other areas were most diplomatic in their dealings with Japanese authorities; they yielded only on non-essential points. The church never compromised its faith and spiritual independence; it refused to collaborate or become a tool of Japanese militarism. Men like Dr. Chester Miao of Shanghai bore the brunt of annoying visitations and unreasonable demands, yet were able to protect much church property and the vital interests of the Christian movement and to hold churches together in unbroken fellowship. The people lived, Dr. Miao says, in constant fear and with deepening resentment against the invader and suspicion of each other. The mission of the church was to uphold the morale of the people and to fortify them against the flood of new temptations, narcotics, sexual looseness, and dishonest trade practices that

came with the invasion. There was marked growth in lay leadership, in stewardship, and in the earnestness of youth groups in the churches.³ But the long strain produced much weariness of spirit and was often benumbing in its effect. As leaders moved into Free China those who were left carried additional burdens. To hold the fort as the church did in Occupied China was in itself a great gain.

In and near the fighting areas that moved westward Christian institutions suffered from continual air raids, often with little warning, and from constant movements of soldiers. In spite of the ever-present fear of further enemy penetration the churches did not fail the suffering people about them. Soon after Pearl Harbor I crossed China's free corridor to Kihwa, 250 miles from Shanghai. I found Christian hospitals, schools, and churches still going on there, ministering to the wounded and meeting the refugees that poured out of Shanghai. Here I met my friend, James Chinling Chiu, formerly a pastor in Hangchow. At that time he was shepherding a group of thirty scattered country churches, partly in occupied territory and partly in Free China. The battle lines swept back and forth across his parish, and yet at the end of the war he had more churches and more Christians than when he started his war-time ministry.

"They that were scattered abroad went about preaching the Word." To Free China, which was roughly one-half of the country, went the "sojourners of the dispersion"⁴; thousands of Christians — doctors, teachers, businessmen, artisans, and preachers — bringing new life and new inspiration to the inland churches. Groups of Christians from the same city or province organized congregations of their own or strengthened existing churches. Several missionary societies started new work in West China. On their long treks Christians witnessed

by word and by sympathy and service, sometimes influencing profoundly their non-Christian traveling companions.⁵ The eleven Christian universities and scores of Christian middle schools that moved westward served the communities around them in fine ways. Christian student teams were organized for relief work and social welfare service in vacation periods. Nanking Theological Seminary started a rural church extension program and a postgraduate course and sponsored many institutes for church workers in cooperation with the newly established West China Union Theological College. The National Christian Council, China Christian Educational Association, Christian Literature Society, Christian relief agencies, and many denominational headquarters were moved far inland, and brought new vision and stimulus to the churches there. Chinese Christians and foreign missionaries from all parts of China met in Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming, Sian, Kweiyang, Kweilin, Kanhsien, and other free cities, and each felt a new unity with the others as a "brother and partaker . . . in the tribulation and kingdom and patience which are in Jesus."⁶ The National Christian Council called an unforgettable conference at bomb-scarred Chungking in May, 1943. It was attended by 150 delegates from all the Free China provinces and addressed personally by President Chiang Kai-shek and other Christian leaders in the government. The Christian institutions and churches of the West were wonderful hosts always, and the understanding and comradeship engendered during the war years between them and their refugee guests has permanently enriched and strengthened the Christian movement in China.

The war stimulated many new forms of Christian work in Free China. Soon a great variety of relief activities was to be seen. The churches started evangelistic efforts in the armies

and hospitals for wounded soldiers, founded Christian student centers for service and evangelism in six large government university communities, organized Christian fellowships among government employees, took part in literacy campaigns, raised funds for families of soldiers, spread Christian music, literature, and art more widely than ever before, and initiated new missionary efforts among the border tribes.

Several missions, especially the English Methodist and the China Inland Mission, have been working for years among the aboriginal peoples, estimated at twenty million, of West China. These tribes have their own languages (although the educated persons can also speak Chinese), picturesque dress, distinctive religious beliefs and customs, and a joyful fondness for folk dancing and music. I shall never forget a visit to Shih Men, "Stone Gateway," in the Miao tribe area made famous by the English pioneer missionary, Sam Pollard. Whole villages and clans, dressed in brightly embroidered homespun wool, were walking over mountain trails to the church service, singing with exquisite harmony and lovely echoes through the hills their Christian hymns set to old ballad tunes. In 1940 the Church of Christ in China, upon foundations laid by the United Church of Canada Mission, began its own Border Mission among three racial groups, the Chiang tribe, the Hsifan and the Lolos. The educational, medical, and social work has received government grants; the religious program is entirely church-supported. Nearly a hundred Chinese missionaries have served here under the inspiring leadership of Mr. William B. Djang and, in spite of apparently insuperable difficulties at times, the results have been surprisingly encouraging. The work has won high praise from the Chinese Government and people. These long neglected border tribes (similar in some ways to the American Indians) are coming at

last into their own in the national life of China and also in the Chinese church, which is their spiritual heritage and destiny. The Chiang tribe, we find, worship one God only, and have sacrifices reminiscent of the old Hebrew sacrifices. Their worship observances, claimed to be more than two thousand years old, probably came originally from Asia Minor.⁷

A favorite Bible passage of Chinese Christians in wartime was the last part of the tenth chapter of Hebrews. One verse well expresses the spirit of these Christians toward their fellow sufferers, "You endured a hard struggle with sufferings, sometimes being publicly exposed to abuse and affliction, and sometimes being partners with those so treated."⁸ The kindly ministry of the churches during the war wrote a shining page in Chinese Christian history. Christians organized the National Christian Service Council for Wounded Soldiers in Transit, the Friends of the Wounded, the Y.M.C.A. Emergency Service to Soldiers with three hundred full-time workers, and joint committees that linked Christian with government relief efforts. The majority of committee members in central and regional organizations that administered church relief funds and later United China Relief gifts from abroad were Protestant and Catholic Christians. The National Christian Council forwarded contributions from the International Missionary Council to twenty-one "orphaned" European missions and to more than two hundred stranded mission workers.

Christian professors and social workers were among the most active promoters of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. Christian doctors and nurses stayed by their patients during air raids and helped to evacuate them if enemy armies pressed too close. Chinese Christian youth helped the Friends' Ambulance Unit to carry medicines to hospitals over Free China

and to care for the wounded at the front. Christian women in the Y.W.C.A., in Madame Chiang's organization, and in church groups served war orphans, made clothing for refugees and soldiers, took care of soldiers' families. In the path of advancing armies Christians organized safety zones, protected women and girls, fed the homeless. In Nanking and at Hankow early in the war Christian relief committees took care of a quarter of a million destitute people. Christian churches, schools, and hospitals were havens of refuge to millions of fleeing, suffering men, women, and children. At Wanhsien Chinese Christians and missionaries carried wounded soldiers on their backs from boats to the hospital. Christians were often seen sharing the little they had with the hungry and sick that streamed away from Japanese controlled areas or from bombed and burning towns. After one sudden air raid a woman missionary and Chinese evangelist responded to the call of some wounded citizens by the roadside but had to tell them, "We have nothing left with us to care for your wounds." "Just stretch out your hands and touch us and we will feel better," they said.⁹ A devoted Episcopal pastor, Kimber H. K. Den, himself an evacuee, organized at Lichwan in southern Kiangsi a permanent colony for rural refugees where they could farm and earn their own living, and this idea spread.

A tribute must be paid also to the relief work of Roman Catholic missionaries and churches. There were nine hundred Catholic missionaries scattered through Free China, including 150 Maryknoll priests from America.¹⁰

GAINS AND LOSSES

When the war ended the church tried to appraise its gains and losses. The gains were many: a faith that had been tested by fire, a deeper understanding of great Christian truths, the

absence of bitterness as shown in prayers for the enemy, a stronger church in West China and an unshaken church in liberated China, a greater interest in rural reconstruction and the rural church, new fraternal relations with the church in India, a firmer sense of partnership between national church leaders and missionaries from abroad, a deeper confidence in the power of God available for every emergency. The church, freed from the incubus of the "unequal treaties" and standing on its own feet when cut off from missionary help, became more independent and self-reliant. One mission report put it thus: "The churches have held their ground. Scarcely any have ceased to exist, the majority have been steadfast, and here and there the Spirit of God has done a new thing, leading individuals or whole churches into fresh experiences of his power, so that, instead of retreating or marking time, they have actually advanced."¹¹ In some places there has been evidence of a real revival, with large numbers entering the church.¹² Everywhere a new receptivity to the Christian message has been reported, but no widespread spiritual awakening or turning to Christianity, except perhaps among the student class.

But the losses, too, have been grievous. Material losses of buildings and equipment in schools, hospitals, churches, and service centers will take decades to replace. But the greatest loss was leadership. In the ten years since 1937 the church has lost a disproportionate number of outstanding leaders and also many lesser known but invaluable church workers and lay members. Some were killed, some died of diseases or accidents caused by abnormal conditions and war strain, many are so worn out now that they are unable to carry on effectively. The high cost of living has forced some with large families to support to leave the service of the church or Chris-

tian institutions. Altogether the loss of leadership during the war years cannot have been less than one-third of the total number before the war. Workers in training today are insufficient even to make replacements; students in theological and Bible schools are only one-fourth the number being called for by the churches, a recent survey shows.¹³ Christian hospitals, schools, and service associations are having a similar difficulty in recruiting new personnel. Government agencies are asking Christian institutions for specially trained men of character, but too few are available. The general restlessness, discontent, and sense of frustration characterizing the postwar period have affected many in Christian service. And yet in spite of the fact that numerous congregations were broken up and large numbers of Christians lost their lives in wartime I believe it could be proved that the Christian constituency is actually larger than before the war. "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but" The Chinese church has been given power from its Lord to overcome disaster and to turn tragedy into triumph.

"We His servants will arise and build," the church cried when peace came. But the tasks of rehabilitation have proved overwhelming. It was more than a year before all the Christian institutions and organizations exiled during the war could return to their homes; transportation was more difficult to secure and subject to more serious accidents than in the first migration westward. It had been feared that Christian leaders of East and West China might find it hard to work together again after long years of separation in the very different environments of Occupied and Free China. Only occasional letters across the lines worded in symbolic language and a few personal messengers had been possible since Pearl Harbor. Would the two bodies of Christians be critical of each other?

Could they trust each other? All doubts and misgivings disappeared, however, in the joy of Christian reunion and in the facing of common problems and responsibilities.

Recovering property that had been occupied by Japanese and then by Chinese soldiers or government agencies was a first difficulty; protecting this property and repairing it was a second. President Chiang Kai-shek on Christmas Day, 1945, issued an order to the commanding generals of all war areas and to all provincial governors requiring military forces to move out of church property within one month and to respect religious freedom and property rights of the churches. The order was not always observed by junior officers and officials and passing soldiers, but the government policy was clear. When a Christian organization moved back to its former location it might discover blackened walls, damaged buildings, or plundered homes. One missionary described her return thus: "No words are adequate to picture the desolation of this town and of our mission grounds. Yoyang has been harder hit than any other place in Hunan; the once busy, prosperous city is a mass of rubble, weeds, and refuse. A few small huts are springing up as people return to hunt for their old homes. On our grounds nearly all the buildings are gone. The church and the hospital are in fair condition. The school grounds are in an indescribably filthy condition — bomb craters everywhere, open cesspools, piles of filth and rubbish, fox holes, air raid shelters in every terrace. . . . We have to be very careful about digging in the ruins, for there are many hand grenades lying about. . . . Our hospital is filled with accident cases." ¹⁴ In such places cleaning up and emergency repairs were the first necessity. Then the property had to be protected from further vandalism by lawless bands. A missionary wrote that she had returned to China after the war "standing upon

the promises" but found herself for the first few weeks just "sitting upon the premises"!

In other places buildings were still standing and churches, schools, and hospitals moved joyously back to resume their service. Several large cities like Shanghai, Nanking, and Peiping were fortunately spared further destruction in the later years of the war. After Pearl Harbor the Japanese took possession of the largest Protestant church of Shanghai, Methodist Moore Memorial. When the congregation moved in again soon after V-J Day they had to stand since all the church seats were gone. But immediately members began to contribute benches and other furniture; today the church is teeming again with life and activity. In one city a Chinese Christian officer required Japanese prisoners of war to contribute labor and materials for rebuilding a church that they had desecrated. Many churches and schools held special thanksgiving services and celebrations on the occasion of their reopening. How well they could sing and appreciate, "When Jehovah brought back those that returned to Zion, we were like unto them that dream. Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing."¹⁵

Innumerable other trying problems of reconstruction confronted the church. Inflation kept on spiralling and made rebuilding costs almost prohibitive. Church workers who had remained and those who returned from exile were alike oppressed by the struggle to keep soul and body together. Homes needed to be refurnished, children must be fed and educated, but salaries bought less and less. "All of us are tired, tired," writes one Chinese pastor. Ministers, teachers, doctors, busy enough with reviving their own work, are called upon also for all kinds of community and relief activities. Mission treasurers wrestle with fluctuating exchange and "frenzied finance."

The Lutheran World Convention bought an airplane to transport missionaries to one province, to bring out refugees from another. Missionaries and Chinese Christians were asked to assist the UNRRA rehabilitation program. A missionary deputation spent five weeks in Manchuria visiting the churches there, which "though they suffered deeply through fourteen years of Japanese occupation show every sign of recovery."¹⁶ Then came the Communist occupation. A year later two outstanding Christian leaders from Manchuria who had been attending the National Christian Council meeting in Shanghai were killed in an airplane crash on their way home. But notwithstanding all the confusion and uncertainty of these reconstruction years we can still discern the bright pattern of Christian faith and courage that the war years revealed.

In West China and other uninvaded parts of the country, churches and church institutions were vitalized by the arrival of Christian refugees. As these same guests leave West China, missions and churches are stimulated again and challenged to meet the enlarged opportunities created by the war. Here recovery is not such a grim task as in the liberated areas, but the churches have their peculiar problems as well as those they share with the rest of the nation.

THE CHURCH AMID CIVIL WAR

The explosive political situation and the pitiless struggle that goes on between the National Government and the Communists affect churches of all China. In National China there is a large measure of religious freedom and little interference with Christian preaching, worship, teaching, and service. In Communist territory religious liberty is promised but not granted. During the war Communist officials invited missionaries and Chinese Christian leaders to visit Yen-an and told

them that their service activities would be welcome. A man could not, of course, be both Communist and Christian, they said, but they would give Christian individuals and groups liberty to carry on their work if it was for the welfare of the people. Unfortunately conditions did not permit a test of the sincerity of this Communist offer.

Since V-J Day the Chinese Communists seem to have made a radical change in their policy. In most of the areas into which they have recently expanded they have manifested bitter hostility to religion and especially to Christianity, because of their belief that it is superstitious and opiating and also because of its connection with nations that are today challenging Russian policy and methods. In recent months particularly the Communists have instigated severe persecutions of Chinese pastors and church members and have tortured and killed hundreds after subjecting them to "Communist justice" in the form of manipulated popular trials. Christians can cooperate with the Communists only on Communist terms. All leaders who question the Communist cause in any way are eradicated; all non-Communist activities are stopped. "In Shantung," one missionary of that province writes, "there has been more destruction of church property by Communists than in all the years of Japanese occupation." Two large centers of missionary effort — the Congregational center at Teh-chow in Shantung and the Methodist center at Changli in Hopeh — have been largely demolished by Communist soldiers. At Changli the Communists looted the hospital, schools, and residences, carried away grain and other relief supplies, and captured Christian workers. Another North China missionary writes, "The effect of Communist occupation has been universally disastrous. Most of our rural work cannot be started again under present circumstances."

What rural Christians are suffering is revealed in a well-authenticated story from Honan. A prosperous and generous middle class farmer was leader of a village Christian group. The Communists tried to get the farmers' society to indict him but nine men refused on the ground that he was a good man beloved by the citizens. These nine were arrested, tied to a tree, and severely beaten. The Christian farmer visited them in the night, persuaded them not to defend him at risk to their own lives, and urged them to accuse him as the Communists had ordered. As a result the Christian farmer had to sell all his lands and possessions. He and his son later escaped to National China, but his younger sister was killed and his wife dragged to death. Such experiences led an American of long residence in China and wise judgment to write, "Grant the Communists more idealism, more enthusiasm, more honesty, more efficiency in the areas that they control; they are still so tyrannical, unjust, and so motivated by hate that I am bound to feel that their cure for a lot of evils is worse than the disease."¹⁷ Whether this terrorism spreads or becomes self-annihilating as some prophesy, the effects upon the Christian enterprise will be felt for a long time to come. Churches of North China and Manchuria just freed from Japanese oppression are now faced with cruel Communist persecution. But we may be confident that though driven underground they will not be annihilated, though afflicted they will not be crushed, though perplexed they will not be driven to despair, and though struck down they will not be destroyed.¹⁸

The story of the Peiying Methodist Church, halfway between Peiping and Tientsin, shows what Japanese occupation, Communist guerrilla raids, four years of unchecked floods, and since V-J Day civil strife and threats of Communist violence

have done to one typical rural community and church, and the difficulties and dangers yet to be faced in rehabilitation. This church was founded in 1883; in 1943 it had 143 active members (90 per cent of whom could read), an earnest pastor, and an active church program. The community was relatively prosperous. What is the picture today? Large sections of farm land are uncultivated. Work animals and carts are gone; harvests have been much reduced. Former middle class farmers are now among the poorest. The old pastor is dead. The church buildings are in a sad state of disrepair. Church attendance has been reduced to twenty or thirty each Sunday. A new young pastor has come to serve in an impoverished community. But, a missionary writes, "The Peiying Church will rise again. Its roots are deep in the community where it has witnessed and served."¹⁹

CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO RECONSTRUCTION

What is the contribution of the Christian movement in China to national and social reconstruction in this critical postwar era? Let us look at some special phases of this contribution. Medical service and the training of Chinese doctors and nurses have always loomed large in China missions; before the war there were many fine hospitals and medical schools that honored the Christian purpose of their founders and also the science of medicine. Two-thirds of the best hospitals in the country were Christian (232 Protestant, 43 Catholic). For 25 years there had been an average of 300 medical missionaries working in China. In 1935 there were listed 325 missionary doctors and 270 missionary nurses. Six Protestant medical schools and one dental school had educated a large number of Chinese physicians, and hospitals were training well qualified

nurses. Before the war there were in all China 12,000 Western-trained doctors, of whom 7,000 were properly accredited, and 300 dentists. The Rockefeller-supported Peking Union Medical College and several government medical colleges had been established. Moreover, the National Government was beginning to take seriously its responsibility for state medical service and public health. In relation to China's health needs, however, the number of hospitals, doctors, and nurses is woefully inadequate. With less than one-third of China's population the United States has fifteen times as many physicians and hospitals.

Eight years of war wrecked many hospitals and depleted medical staffs. Capable doctors were drawn away for service in the sadly unprepared medical division of the Chinese Army. Dr. Robert Lim of P.U.M.C. and others worked hard to train medical units for the front lines and base hospitals; the Christian medical schools in Free China (West China Medical and Cheeloo Medical) and government institutions did all they could, but replacements have not yet made up the losses. Some Christian hospitals in invaded territory were taken over by the Japanese Army; others were permitted to carry on their work under Chinese leadership. Brave Chinese doctors struggled along with crowded wards, insufficient help, and dwindling medical supplies; at the end of the war many were seriously ill and some had died. Altogether about one-fourth of the Christian hospitals were destroyed or temporarily closed. The war service of the others is a story of miraculous endurance and devotion.

With the return of more medical missionaries and the strengthening of Chinese staffs, over two hundred Christian hospitals are now in operation. Since V-J Day a large number in liberated China have been partly repaired and re-equipped.

The cost of rebuilding and of maintaining hospitals at high standard may force the permanent closing of some institutions and the amalgamation of others. But Christian medical work is coming back strong in China and has a large place in relation to both the Christian movement and national needs. China is the only country in the world where Christian medical work, as such, is accorded a place officially in the program and councils of the National Medical Association. As we seek today to contribute more well prepared and consecrated Christian Chinese medical men and women for the healing of China's sick millions, two major trends are evident: closer cooperation between Christian hospitals and the government program of medicine and public health; and the increased importance of Christian medical colleges, nursing schools, and institutions for the training of pharmacists and medical technicians.

Christian education has an unique place in the life of new China. The Ministry of Education in 1946 reported 182 institutions of college grade and above compared with 108 before the war, and 80,646 college students compared with 41,922 in 1936. This is remarkable progress under war conditions. And yet the total number of college graduates in all China is only 250,000; in the United States there are about nine million. The thirteen Christian colleges — mostly union and interdenominational institutions — have had a most important share in the development of higher education for China. They pioneered in the teaching of sciences, modern medicine, agriculture, and in education for women. They were the first to teach Western languages. They have done notable research and experimental work in many important fields. Their Chinese presidents and many of their Chinese and missionary professors have exerted a wide influence in scholastic

circles at home and abroad. They have contributed a striking number of eminent leaders to the church and the nation. While only one out of ten Chinese college graduates is from a Christian college, yet four out of ten Chinese students in the United States for advanced study are Christian college graduates. The Christian colleges are in the forefront of progressive movements and China's march toward democracy. They are a most important link between East and West.

During the war only St. John's at Shanghai and West China Union University at Chengtu (a host to four refugee colleges) did not leave their campuses and move long distances to temporary quarters. Now the eleven exiled Christian universities, along with the many government universities that moved inland, are again on their original campuses. The story of the road home, like that of the trek inland, is an epic of valor. Some schools suffered heavy damages, but fortunately no institution was entirely destroyed. The United Board of Christian Colleges in China is promoting a campaign to raise fifteen million dollars for rehabilitation. A comprehensive program for coordinated development has been adopted. St. John's and Soochow Universities and Hangchow Christian College had joint commencement exercises on June 23, 1947, with Ambassador John Leighton Stuart as speaker. They will merge to form a new East China Union University. Applicants for admission to the Christian colleges are five to ten times as many as can be received. The enrollment today is already twice as large as before the war.²⁰ An evidence of government appreciation is the fact that the right to conduct departments of education and normal training has been given back to Christian schools.

Equally important are the more than two hundred Christian middle schools that are educating over fifty thousand out of

the million impressionable youth in China's program of secondary education. A book could be written about the heroic determination and sacrifices of these Christian schools during the war: Yali (Yale-in-China), the Oberlin-Shansi Schools, Kashing High School, Puiyin of Canton, and many more. Now they are rebuilding, overflowing with students, rededicating themselves to their great mission of preparing intelligent, capable, Christian men and women for the new China. Primary education has become largely a government responsibility because of its cost. But there are some fine Christian primary schools, kindergartens, and nurseries that were maintained during the war or that have been reopened since the war. Much child welfare work and religious education of children is carried in the regular program of the churches. "A school reborn" is the way that Walter de Velder describes the reopening of the Christian primary school at the village of Eng-hok in south Fukien, with the generous support of alumni and local citizens who contributed ten million Chinese dollars (at that time about \$800 in American money). A striking feature of the recovery of Christian schools of all grades has been the unexpectedly large contributions from both Christian and non-Christian alumni and friends.

Both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. now have more centers of work than before the war and their service has far-reaching influence. The Chungking Y.M.C.A., heavily bombed during the war, recently reported 11,516 paying members. Mr. S. C. Leung, general secretary of Y.M.C.A.'s National Committee, has recently been elected chairman of the National Christian Council and was one of the seven Chinese delegates to the International Missionary Council meeting at Whitby, Canada, in July, 1947.

In China's reconstruction, what of the evangelistic program

of the Christian movement and the thousands of city and rural churches? Do they have a contribution to make? Is their work essential? More essential than anything else, we would say. Christianity could not permeate China's new culture and leaven the life of the common people without the churches, the "ongoing Christian communities." Theological education, therefore, takes on added significance, for the church must depend upon it to train pastors of city and village churches, women evangelists for homes, religious teachers of children and youth, scholars and interpreters of the Christian faith, prophets of a Christian China. The two wartime units of Nanking Theological Seminary — in Shanghai and Chengtu — have reunited in Nanking, and one hundred students are in attendance. Yenching School of Religion, West China Union Theological College at Chengtu, Canton Union Theological College now on Lingnan University campus, Foochow Union Theological School, and other schools have encouraging enrollments of new students and church workers returning for refresher courses. The Reverend Marcus Cheng is guiding a new seminary at Chungking, founded during the war. Several new Bible schools have been started recently both for full-time church workers and for laymen.

The National Christian Council at its first full meeting after the war (at Shanghai in December, 1946), launched a three-year Forward Movement with a main emphasis upon evangelism and the revival of the church's inner life, and the watchword, "All for Christ and Christ for all." This new crusade is linked directly with the basic needs of national reconstruction. "Representing a majority of the Protestant churches of China we feel a compelling responsibility to strengthen and gird ourselves the better to perform our part in the task that lies ahead, especially in the reconstruction of the spiritual life of

the nation upon which all successful political, economic, and technical achievement must ultimately depend. To this end, therefore, we are launching a Forward Movement. . . . We do this under an overwhelming conviction of the seriousness of the present situation. The church itself belongs to no party. But as Christians we can neither be blind to the dangers which threaten the foundations of the nation nor refrain from passing moral judgment on social and political evils which are in opposition to what we know to be God's holy will and the moral standards of Jesus Christ. We are united in our opposition to all corruption, to all types of human bondage, inequality, unrighteousness, and inhumanity, to all lawlessness and Godlessness. . . . The church . . . cannot but cry out to the whole nation to repent. . . . In opposing evil we may suffer. . . . We call upon all Christians and all men of goodwill to exhibit new courage, new hope, and new endeavor in the pursuit of peace for our land; to rise out of pessimism and despondency, and by a renewal of faith to discern that beyond the present darkness there is boundless light. . . ." ²¹

In this great statement we find new insights into the message and mission of the church, a brave prophetic note, an earnest call to heed God's judgment and to repent, a realization of the need of salvation, and a spiritual independence and fearlessness that give us new hope for the church. Christian thought and experience are coming of age in China. Perhaps, as Dr. T. C. Chao says, a Chinese theology may soon appear, interpreting the unchanging Word of God in Christ in Chinese ways to the Chinese mind and heart. For this Forward Movement, this new crusade, the Chinese church, thank God, has many men and women of real evangelistic gifts: theologians like T. C. Chao, Francis Wei, and Li Tien-lu; college presidents like Wu Yi-fang and Y. C. Tu; middle school principals

like William Koo of Kashing and Lao Chi-hsiang of Yali; great church leaders like Bishops W. Y. Chen and Z. T. Kaung, and George Wu of the National Christian Council; stirring revivalists like Marcus Cheng and Leland Wang; earnest laymen like Ernest Ying of Shanghai and Hollington Tong of the National Government in Nanking; rural ministers like Chang Hsin-t'ien of Kiangsu and T'ien Li-kung of North China and thousands more like them. Christian pastors and teachers, doctors and nurses, youth in schools and on the farms, nationals and devoted missionaries, have had their hearts set on fire by God and are now mobilizing for this new "advance through storm" of the church in China.

New evangelistic methods are available through the development of visual aids, public address systems, and the radio. The Christian Broadcasting Station at Shanghai, founded before the war by a consecrated and dynamic Christian businessman, K. C. Li, is functioning again. Dr. Karl Reichelt's Christian Mission to Buddhists, with its beautiful Tao Fong Shan, "Truth-Spirit-Hill," and Christian temple grounds near Hongkong, has pioneered in a new evangelistic approach to Buddhist priests and devotees. Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen has called this institution the most notable meeting place of two great religions in the world. A similar method might be applied in our contacts with other old religions of China. We are observing interesting developments in Chinese Christian architecture and art, music and drama, and in the Christian observance of national holidays and popular festivals as well as of great church days. Both eye and ear are avenues to the Chinese heart; Christian celebrations and colorful customs may be as effective witnesses to the gospel as sermons.

Hymns of Universal Praise, the new union hymnal edited by the late Timothy Ting-fang Lew and now used throughout

China, is a remarkable product of Chinese Christian experience. Here are more than four hundred of the best hymns of our Western Christian heritage translated into beautiful Chinese, sixty-two hymns written by Chinese Christians, and seventy-two tunes that are Chinese in origin or composition. Here is an early Nestorian hymn discovered in Kansu, another hymn written by a Christian of the Ming Dynasty. Confucian chants and old Chinese folk melodies have been captured for Christ as was the music of Bach, Beethoven, and Handel. The title of this chapter, "Church of Christ, Arise and Stand," is taken from one of the most popular hymns in this book, written and set to music by Chinese. No hymnal in Christendom today is so indigenous and yet so ecumenical; none is used by such a diverse group of Christian worshipers or read devotionally by so many Christians and non-Christians for the sake of its sheer literary beauty and spiritual inspiration.

China, home of ancient classics and rich literary history, can be moved by great literature. The Bible is such and there is greater demand today for the Christian *Shen-Ching* or "Holy Classic" than ever before. Between 1919 and 1936 two million copies of the New Testament were sold in China; in 1946 a total of 45,000 Bibles and 52,000 New Testaments were sold, but the Bible societies tell us that ten times this number have been asked for. Chinese Bibles are being published now both in China, where fortunately the printing plates were saved, and in the United States, where paper and binding are less expensive than in China. The war gave Chinese Christians a new appreciation of much of the Bible: the Psalms of comfort, the sermons of the prophets to their troubled times, stories of the Cross and the Resurrection, Paul's letters to the struggling churches of his day, the epistles of Peter, and *Revelation*. There was much memorizing of Scripture and

singing of whole Bible chapters to folk tunes in times of danger and weariness. Today a new hunger for Bible study is discernible. A recent Bible conference at Suchow, north Kiangsu, attracted over eleven hundred Christians who paid their own expenses of travel and food. Pocket Testaments are eagerly sought for in the Chinese Army. New translations of the Bible are being attempted: by Mr. Li Jui, a devout businessman who has learned to read Greek and Hebrew, by Mr. Lu Chen-chung, a graduate of Yenching School of Religion now in the United States, by Dr. John C. Wu, and others. Dr. Wu is a devout Roman Catholic layman and scholar now representing China at the Vatican. His translation of the Psalms into Chinese metrical form was undertaken at the special request of President Chiang Kai-shek. Published by the Commercial Press, it has become a best seller.

We cannot say that any truly great Christian literature has been born out of this war period. However, as Christian writers gathered in West China two extremely interesting and promising developments took place. First, a plan for translating the great Christian classics from the early church days to the present time was launched with some cooperation from Roman Catholic scholars; a good beginning has already been made in what will be a project of several decades. Second, several different religious publication societies pooled their efforts in what is now called the United Christian Publishers. Among the most widely read and influential Christian periodicals today are the *Christian Farmer*; the *Christian Omnibook*, a quarterly of translations and original articles; *T'ien Feng*, a weekly under the editorship of Mr. Y. T. Wu and stimulating much thinking and discussion by its "Christian left" position on social and political questions; and *Evangelism*, a monthly published for preachers, edited by Marcus Cheng of

Chungking. The Catholics have a daily newspaper; several Protestant groups are making plans to issue one. High costs of publication and distribution are limiting the sales of many good Christian books and magazines. Dr. T. C. Chao's books and translations of Stanley Jones' books are very popular. The use of Biblical quotations and allusions by secular writers and references to Christian ideas and terms in the general press are steadily increasing. We may well pray that God will send forth more writers of deep scholarship, spiritual power, and moving literary style into the harvest field of China.

Two national organizations are promoting religious education in churches, homes, and schools: the National Committee for Christian Religious Education (similar in purpose and method to the International Council of Religious Education of North America) and the China Sunday School Union, which issues lessons and pictures for about five thousand churches in China and overseas. In both churches and schools we find a growing number of Christian youth fellowships and youth choirs. There is a Christian student movement in Christian and government colleges sponsored by the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and many church bodies, and also a Christian Inter-Varsity Fellowship led by extremely conservative but earnest leaders like Calvin Chao. Both during and since the war Christian conferences in quiet surroundings have been held for college and middle school students and for denominational youth. A unique by-product of the war has been the fine fellowship developed between a number of Christian officers and enlisted men in the American Army and young Chinese Christians whom they met in churches or homes.

We have spoken largely of the Chinese church rather than of missions and missionaries in China because the church is

the great end for which all are working and serving. But the question arises in many minds: is the foreign missionary still needed and wanted in China? The answer from Chinese Christians would be an emphatic "Yes." "When missionaries were cut off from us, we were compelled to learn to walk with God. We are eager for you to come back. But we want your help in such ways as will enable us to keep on walking." ²² The welcome from the general public in National China, too, is surprisingly warm. Why? Because the missionary identified himself with the struggles and sufferings of the people during China's long struggle and is sharing now the difficulties and hardships of the reconstruction years. The Chinese remember the many missionaries who did relief work under fire, the missionaries who lost all their personal possessions, the missionaries who joined the great migration to West China, and those who stayed behind and were interned after Pearl Harbor in Shanghai, Hongkong, Weihsien, and Peiping. They know that missionaries were killed during the war. I have heard of twenty Protestant missionaries killed; the Roman Catholics report over forty. Even after two repatriations on the *Gripsholm*, a considerable number of the 766 interned missionaries remained in China. I reached Shanghai from West China in time to attend the welcome party given by the Christian churches of Shanghai for missionary internees just freed from their camps after the Japanese surrender. It was a deeply moving occasion.

Chinese leaders in all fields, from President and Madame Chiang Kai-shek down, have expressed in warmest terms their appreciation of the missionary contribution during the war years, and their hope that missionaries will continue to serve in China. Randall Gould, American newspaper editor in China, gives another viewpoint when he says, "Even if China

does not fare too well in the immediate future, Christian missions have shown their staunch capacity to 'take it.' I believe that they are bound to be a leading factor in helping China to find right paths." ²³

On V-J Day there were about one thousand Protestant missionaries in all China. As soon as shipping facilities were available old missionaries and new recruits began to arrive on transports. The number is now on the way to three thousand. However, this is only half the prewar total. Much has been written about the harsh living conditions of the returning missionary, compared with prewar days. Life is grim, with patched-up houses, delays and hardships in inland travel, soaring costs of everything and lack of prewar imported goods, heatless winters, waves of political and economic unrest, and the discouragements of starting work again from the ground up. The missionary can send his children to the Shanghai American School but advantages there are not what they were before the war; the new missionary can study at the North China College of Chinese Studies in Peiping but he had better prepare some arctic clothing. And yet no missionary worthy of the name wants to turn the sympathy that is due China and the Chinese people toward himself, since he possesses so much more than most of his Chinese friends. We go not to be served but to serve.

When Dr. Frank Rawlinson, Congregational missionary and editor of the *Chinese Recorder*, was killed at Shanghai early in the war, his wife said, "Missions must go on!" The hundreds of missionaries who stayed through the war, the hundreds returning after the war, in inspiring send-offs from San Francisco, San Antonio, Vancouver, and other ports, are saying, "Missions must go on!" Robert and Dorothy Vick, new Baptist missionaries, who were killed in an airplane crash

over Central China on January 18, 1947, had written just a month before to their friends in America, "We don't know as yet what experiences await us. We know that we shall be finding a country where the loving Christ has gone ahead and is patiently beckoning to us to come on and minister in his name and strength."²⁴ Missionaries and national Christian leaders fall, but missions must go on.

The more difficult the situation in China the more the missionary's faith and friendship, hopefulness and encouragement are needed. Never has he had so wonderful an opportunity to be "herald of God's truth and ambassador of God's love" and to take part in the material and spiritual remaking of a great civilization. The young people that he helps to train now will be the builders of tomorrow. His deepest concern is not for any political party in China nor for the interests of his own nation, but for the people of China and the kingdom of God. He may be a reconciling influence between conflicting groups; he may help China achieve democracy and take her rightful place in international life. Whether doctor, teacher, minister, social worker, agriculturalist, or homemaker, he goes now to work in and through the Chinese church, as partner, co-worker, companion, and friend. He can help the church meet new opportunities, reach out to new frontiers, and overcome new perils. He can quietly encourage and work with groups that are fighting against intrenched moral and social evils. He says, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus as Lord, and ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake."²⁵

The church in China is tragically weak but gloriously strong. It is a "bruised reed and smoking flax," but the reed will not be broken nor the flax quenched until He brings religion to victory, and in His name shall the Chinese, and the people of all Asia, hope.²⁶

CHAPTER SEVEN

BY FAITH THEY . . .

A FEW MONTHS AGO I WROTE TO MY OLD FRIEND AND colleague, Professor Paul T. H. Chen, Librarian of Nanking Theological Seminary, asking him to consult with others and prepare for me a list of outstanding Christian leaders in China. For several years Professor Chen has been working on a "Who's Who" of the Chinese Protestant Church. In response to my request he made a careful selection of Christian men and women who have displayed unusual qualities of leadership during the past critical decade. I have added a few names to Professor Chen's list and it now includes nearly three hundred leaders, distributed as follows:

university presidents and professors	23
middle school principals and teachers	20
theological school presidents and professors	18
Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. secretaries	19
leaders in interchurch national organizations	10
religious education and Christian rural leaders	28
pastors and denominational executives	49
evangelists and revivalists	12
lay leaders in the churches (professional men, business-men, etc.)	23
promising young church leaders	18
Christian authors and poets	18
killed or died during and since the war	17
Christians in political life	35
	<hr/>
	290

I wish that all our readers might be introduced to this group of eminent Chinese Christians, and also to thousands of lesser known but equally earnest and loyal followers of Christ. You would find them delightfully human and friendly, with as many different and interesting types of personality as in a similar group in America. You would be deeply moved by their radiant Christian spirit, their wonderful faith and endurance during the years of war and reconstruction, and the contribution that they are making to the new China. You would realize, too, that through such Christians China is returning a hundred-fold our investment in foreign missions and is making a rich gift to world Christianity. The Chinese church has its proportion of unintelligent, weak, cold, and hypocritical members; what church has not? But it has also many heroes of faith.

EDUCATORS

Here are a few of these men and women whom you would be proud to claim as your brothers and sisters in Christ.¹ Meet Miss Wu Yi-fang (Y. F. Wu), Ph.D., president of Ginling College for Women, great Christian educator, church leader, and stateswoman. In 1937 Dr. Wu led her teachers and students fifteen hundred miles inland to temporary crowded quarters at Chengtu because the beautiful Ginling campus at Nanking had to be abandoned in face of the Japanese invasion. Then in 1946 she brought Ginling back to its old home and to trying days of rebuilding. Both in East China and in West China during the war Dr. Wu has been an acknowledged Christian woman leader, not only in higher education but in many other varied fields of service to the church and the nation. She was chairman of the National Christian Council for eleven years, including all the war years, head of the Chi-

nese delegation to the International Missionary Council meeting at Madras in 1938, chairman of the National Committee of the Y.W.C.A. and of the National People's Political Council, and the one woman on the Chinese delegation to the United Nations Organization Conference at San Francisco in 1945. These and other honors and responsibilities have come to Dr. Wu because of her extraordinary gifts of mind and personality and because of her Christian devotion and spirit of unselfish service. A graduate of the first class of Ginling College and of the University of Michigan with high honors, Dr. Wu could have made an important place for herself in scientific scholarship. But she has been willing to act as well as to study, to blaze new trails for others to follow. Her influence upon the youth of China and the many new developments in that old land has been profound. Fortunately she has a keen sense of humor, as shown in her remark, "In old China it was short (bound) feet and long hair; now it is long feet and short (bobbed) hair." Dr. Wu's exceptional intellectual and spiritual attainments, her exquisite command of both Chinese and English in public speech, her wise judgment and sympathetic insights, her dignity and grace, her inspiring Christian faith and character, all mark her as not only a great woman of China but also as an international figure.

The Christian college presidents of China are all worth your knowing. Let me choose one other to introduce to you, together with his remarkable family. Y. G. Chen (Chen Yu-kuang) is a third-generation Christian. His father, a contractor, and his mother, a woman of rare ability and piety, have been lifelong workers in and supporters of the West Gate Church of Christ in Nanking. Y. G. and his several brothers and sisters have all rendered signal lay service to the Christian movement. A brother-in-law, Han Li-wu, is vice-minister of education and

a Christian. A fine fourth generation of Christian children is growing up. Y. G. took his Ph.D. in chemistry at Columbia University, returned to China to teach in government universities and then to become dean and later president of his alma mater, the University of Nanking. A characteristic of Dr. Chen's nearly twenty years of administration has been his integrity of character and his outspoken Christian witness, together with the loyalty through many struggles and vicissitudes that he has been able to inspire in his notable faculty. Today U.N.'s College of Agriculture is the best in all China, and in many other ways this fine institution is serving both church and nation.

During and since the war we have lost three distinguished Christian presidents: Chancellor Wu Lei-chuan of Yenching University was an old Confucian scholar who passed the highest examinations under the old civil service system and became a member of the famous Hanlin Academy; in his later life he humbly embraced the Christian faith, wrote books and articles on Christianity in choice literary style, and declined other inviting offers to become head of a Christian school. President Herman Liu of the University of Shanghai (Baptist) was killed by Japanese agents because of his fearless patriotism. President C. J. Lin of Fukien Christian University died soon after the end of the war; he was a capable administrator, winsome spirit, and true Christian who wore himself out in wartime service to his own refugee institution and to the churches of Southeast China.

Meet China's many excellent Christian middle school principals. Russell Hsiung and William Koo typify their devotion and daring. Russell Hsiung (Hsiung Hsiang-hsi) led William Nast (Methodist) Academy from Kiukiang on the Yangtze to Ting-chia-ao, a small village of Szechwan. During

eight years in West China four thousand students went through the halls of this refugee school. Its high standards, Christian spirit, and earnest patriotism attracted sons and daughters of non-Christian official families as well as children of refugee Christians. When peace came Russell led the school back home. To what? "Two buildings wiped out, library and laboratory apparatus completely gone, all furniture taken or burned, not a pencil left to use for a souvenir, but thank God we are still alive!" Russell is all the more convinced that China needs Christian education: "We need a change of heart and a change of spirit. China has a rich religious heritage but Christianity alone has the moving power to reconstruct China from within. I can see no other redemption except as a repentant nation before Christ Jesus." ²

William Koo's mother and grandmother were among the first converts in the field where my parents pioneered fifty-five years ago. He and his brothers grew up in the country and toiled hard because the family was poor. But they were ambitious for an education and by their own strenuous efforts and with the aid of friends completed their middle school and college courses. William became principal of the Christian High School at Kashing, south of Shanghai. The war forced the school to move from one place to another and finally to the International Settlement at Shanghai, where it combined with fourteen other refugee middle schools under Koo's leadership. Pearl Harbor brought an end to the precarious security of these schools in Shanghai and so William struck out for Free China. He found a new location in southern Kiangsi where Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's son was magistrate. Again and again he went back to the battle lines where his teachers and students were crossing at night and guided them inland. He wrote, "Young boys and girls are wandering about like

lost sheep, abandoning their baggage, sick and hungry on the road." He helped the student relief committee to rescue many of these, and made plans to start his own school again. Evacuee students came from twenty-three Christian middle schools formerly in Occupied East China. With pitifully limited equipment and inadequate financial resources he yet conserved Christian secondary education that otherwise would have been eliminated by the Japanese invasion, and the refugee union school brought new life also to a formerly isolated mountain area. He wore himself out physically and the doctors, fearing a recrudescence of tuberculosis, ordered rest. But he would not give up. His brother, a Christian college professor, died during the war, and William undertook the support of Daniel's family of three children in addition to his own. After the war he was able to lead the union school back to Shanghai and then to re-establish his own school in badly damaged buildings at Kashing. Today it has nearly six hundred students out of thousands who are applying. On the day of the official reopening Principal Koo said to the large group of non-Christian officials and visitors who attended, "This school was founded as a Christian school; it will always continue a Christian school." One of Koo's special interests is the educating of boys for community service and Christian citizenship. He has just published a stirring book on Christian education and democracy.

A few decades ago theological education was given largely by missionaries. Today there is a growing group of scholarly and consecrated Christian theological and Bible teachers. One of the best known is Dr. T. C. Chao (Chao Tzu-ch'en), dean of the School of Religion of Yenching University. When he was given an honorary degree by Princeton University at its recent Bicentennial Convocation, the citation read, "Foremost in-

terpreter of Christian faith to Oriental minds; scholar, inspiring teacher, distinguished poet, gentle mystic." Once during the dark days of the war he wrote me, "For several months I have not heard from my children. Separation from dear ones at a time like this is a thing to be endured. It is so difficult now to believe in the rule of the love of God among men . . . and yet the Christian faith, not merely its theology, but the whole of faith, living and victoriously courageous, is the solution of it." During his later imprisonment of several months by the Japanese he used his time to write more than a hundred religious poems and a book on the Apostle Paul, which is having a wide sale today. He believes profoundly in the redemptive message of the gospel and also in the synthesis that Christianity must find with the spiritual treasures of China's old culture.

Another philosopher and theologian, Dr. Francis C. M. Wei (Wei Cho-min), president of Hua Chung College, came through the war trial with greatly enriched Christian thought and experience. In his stimulating new book, *The Spirit of Chinese Culture*,³ Francis Wei, like T. C. Chao, advocates the interpretation of Christianity in terms of Chinese culture. But there is no watering down of the Christian gospel. Rather does Dr. Wei want to see the Chinese people led into a "greater truth than is in their own culture," a truth that will surpass the best of their traditional moral and religious teaching by fulfilling it — "filling it to the fullest extent" — and revealing to them Jesus Christ as their supreme Teacher, Saviour, and Lord. One of Dr. Wei's creative proposals is the "four-center church": first, the church cell in a home or public building; second, the Christian social service center for many church cells; third, the Christian college, center of Christian thinking and planning; fourth, the center of Christian pilgrimage.

The Christian movement in China has been blessed with a considerable number of gifted writers whose influence in a land of rich literary traditions reaches far. At the Madras Missionary Conference in 1938 you could have seen two such writers whose later death was an irreplaceable loss to the Chinese church, Dr. P. C. Hsu and Dr. Timothy Ting-fang Lew. Both men had frail bodies, brilliant minds, and gentle, loving souls. They dedicated their superior writing gift to the Christian cause and left behind them many valuable books, essays, translations, poems, and meditations that now belong to the Christian treasury of China. It was Timothy Lew at a Chinese Christian conference who coined a phrase that has gone around the world, "Let us agree to differ, but resolve to love." Others are following in their train. I think of two friends with very different temperaments, Y. T. Wu and Z. K. Zia. Y. T. Wu is like an Old Testament prophet; his soul is seared by the social sins and injustices that he sees around him, and his words, though quietly spoken and written, lash and cut. He has made a thorough study of socialist and communist theories and seeks a truly Christian answer to their challenge; some, therefore, think of him as a radical. But he is also mystical and a man of prayer. His home background was non-Christian and he was converted in a government university. Z. K. Zia of the Christian Literature Society, on the other hand, is the son of a pastor. He is conservative in his thinking and mild in spirit, but through his scores of well written translations and original books he has greatly enriched the life of the church. I know no man who suffered more in the war — material losses, physical dangers, long separation from his family, and spiritual agony — but pain has only purified his life and given to his preaching and writing a new note of tenderness and comfort.

The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have from the beginning of their history in China stressed Chinese leadership. They have attracted a large number of highly educated Christian Chinese into the service of the associations, and not a few of these after apprenticeship in "Y" work have become outstanding leaders in other fields. The "Y" has pioneered in literacy education, physical training, vocational training, special activities for city boys and girls, night schools, Christian work with government students, and many forms of constructive social service. Its best leaders have been active also in the work of the churches, and the scores of city associations for men and women have been an invaluable arm of the Christian movement. S. C. Leung, who directs the Y.M.C.A. in China, is an earnest churchman; Miss Tsai Kwei, the general secretary of the National Committee of the Y.W.C.A., is a much sought for speaker at all Christian gatherings. The Y.M.C.A. has produced no Chinese leader who is better known to Western Christians than Dr. T. Z. Koo (Koo Tze-zen), now a secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation. Wherever he travels, as world citizen and as missionary from China to students of all lands, his eloquence, his clear and forceful message, and his winsome personality draw large groups to hear him and meet him. During the war T. Z. suffered with his Chinese compatriots. He was caught in Hongkong when the Pacific war broke out and went from there to Shanghai. But let him tell his own story. "I went through experiences that practically stripped me of the things one considers normal or necessary in life. I learned hundreds of things I never knew before. I lost nearly thirty-two pounds. I faced death at close quarters. I suffered the loss of freedom. . . . For three years I carried on. . . . I sold article after article just to keep my family supplied with food. . . . Christ once said, 'Leave me

alone; but even then I shall not be alone, because the Father is with me.' . . . If you can express your faith in those terms you can stand before all kinds of dangers and persecutions, and you will stand like a rock. You can stand with your enemies, and still see them as brothers." ⁴ Dr. Koo later escaped from Shanghai to Free China, was sent to San Francisco as an adviser to the Chinese delegation, and is now on the roads of the world again with his burning testimony to Christ.

PASTORS, EVANGELISTS

China's pastors, evangelists, church administrators, and religious educators pass before you. You probably know some of them already. I wish that you could meet them all and have your heart kindled by their record of faith and fidelity. Look at that splendid group of Sheng Kung Hui (Episcopal) bishops: Robin Chen of Anhwei, Presiding Bishop Lindel Tsen of Honan, C. T. Song of Szechwan, T. K. Shen (Shen Tz-kao), who started the missionary diocese of the northwest, Quentin Hwang of the southwest, Y. Y. Tsu at Nanking, and others. Meet T. C. Bau, who kept the Baptist work of East China going during the occupation, Luther Shao of the Christian (Disciples) Church, who inspired and guided so much inter-church effort in Free China, Dr. H. H. Tsui, able and consecrated general secretary of the Church of Christ in China, and Bishop Z. T. Kaung (Kiang Ch'ang-ch'uan) of the Methodist Church in North China. Bishop Kaung was a tower of strength to churches of all denominations during the war, and still is. What a preacher, with ringing voice and evangelistic fervor that grip both sophisticated student and illiterate laborer! Today he is urging the church not to become dependent again after the self-reliance learned during the war. Although conservative theologically he yet believes passionately in a united

church for China. He is a man of big visions. "To have a new China we must have Christian ideals planted in the minds and lives of our youth. If ever there was a time for the church to go forward it is now. The minds of students are ready for something big, for something real, for something that will make China what it ought to be."⁵

Another dynamic scholar, preacher, and church leader is Dr. W. Y. Chen (Chen Wen-yuan), bishop of the Methodist Church in West China and honorary general secretary of the National Christian Council. I have heard him hold church audiences and student audiences spellbound by his oratorical power, vigorous thought, vivid illustrations, and intense religious convictions. When he was a teen-age student in a mission school at Foochow he led a school gang in opposition to Christianity. But the influence of his teachers and especially of his Christian roommate brought about his conversion, and he in turn won his family, with its Confucian-Buddhist traditions, to an acceptance of the Christian faith. Wen-yuan went on to college and graduate study abroad. Step by step God guided this talented youth into Christian educational work, into the Christian ministry, into positions of national responsibility and opportunity. Today he is a statesman of the Christian movement in China and is invited frequently to world missionary gatherings. He is a worthy successor to Dr. C. Y. Cheng (Cheng Ching-yi), long secretary to the National Christian Council and then of the Church of Christ in China, whose death during the war brought grief to the whole Christian world.⁶

And what more shall I say? There is Cheung Chuk-ling of the Hop Yat Church of Christ in Hongkong. For thirty years he had ministered to his congregation, one of the strongest in the Kwangtung Synod. Then bombs and shells scattered

the members, and haughty enemy troops marched into the beautiful church building, turning it into barracks. Pastor Cheung was tortured, hung by his heels and beaten, accused of being an agent for the Allied forces because he wrote letters of introduction for Christians fleeing inland. His marvelous endurance and saintly spirit moved even his enemies. Miraculously his life was given back to him, and today Pastor Cheung continues his faithful ministry in a rebuilt church.

Visit Wang Heng-hsin of Suchow (Tangshan) on the trunk railway that is between Nanking and Tientsin. After the Japanese entry into this important junction city, Pastor Wang and several other church leaders were arrested. They were not allowed to have their Bibles but they sang hymns and repeated long passages of Scripture memorized in earlier years. Upon their release they were required to report regularly to the Japanese gendarmery. Pastor Wang complied but also took up his church work again. After Pearl Harbor, when missionary personnel and funds were withdrawn, he assumed the principalship of the two middle schools in the Presbyterian station, the superintendency of the mission hospital, the direction of all city and country evangelistic work, not because there were no others to serve but because he had the courage to face all the risks of undertaking these responsibilities under enemy eyes and of raising the necessary funds. The missionaries as they return are building upon the wartime service and sacrifice of hundreds of faithful Christians — teachers, doctors, preachers, women evangelists, and lay Christians — who worked under the fearless leadership of Pastor Wang. He is well named; Heng-hsin means "Steadfast-heart."

Many Christian evangelists and revivalists travel through China today. Some have a narrow theology, one-sided

messages, and a sectarian spirit, but all are on fire and "Christ is preached." Two of the best evangelists, men of great preaching skill and power, I want you to know. Marcus Cheng is an indefatigable Bible student and teacher of the Word. He was once chaplain in General Feng Yu-hsiang's army. His sermons are scriptural, well illustrated, constructive, and persuasive. Behind all that he preaches and writes is a life of fervent prayer. Leland Wang I knew before he became a Christian, when he was a student in the Naval Academy at Nanking. The influence of his Christian wife, the Bible classes he attended, the prayers of friends, led him into the Christian life and later into giving up an attractive official career for full-time preaching. He has traveled all over China, among the Chinese of Malaya and Indonesia, and in America, telling the simple gospel story in a way that moves to repentance and new purpose. Both Marcus Cheng and Leland Wang were caught by the Pacific War when on overseas evangelistic missions, the former in Singapore and the latter in Java. But Leland was able to preach at 850 gatherings even under Japanese surveillance, and Marcus Cheng escaped to China after two years in Malaya and Siam with five books that he had written in exile. Both are now preaching the Word with power. Another well known revivalist, John Sung, "China's Billy Sunday," died during the war.

It is a joy to watch the younger workers develop; there are far too few of them but their mental and spiritual qualities give us unbounded hope. Here is a group that I know well, some recent graduates of Nanking Theological Seminary. Stephen Chang, won to Christ and the Christian ministry while studying in a government school and now a chaplain at National Chekiang University; the Christian fellowship in that institution has a history of twelve years and a member-

ship today of 120. Fan Wen-hai, Manchurian student, a young "Frederick Oberlin" among the tribespeople of West China. Chang Hsin-t'ien, who during the war revived a little Christian group near Shanghai and built it up into one of the best rural churches of East China with an active membership of over two hundred. Baen Tsu, the young and energetic general secretary of the Nanking Y.M.C.A., who started after the war with a pile of rubble and now has a big program going for the whole city. Peter Tsai and his wife, who held the fort bravely at Soochow, and many others.

LAY LEADERS

What would the church have done throughout the war without its faithful volunteer workers, its thousands of devoted lay leaders? Stories of their adventurous faith would fill many volumes. Meet Peter Wei Lin, Priscilla Lin, and their four sturdy sons. Peter's father was a Methodist pastor in Fukien. After graduating with high honors from a government military academy Peter went into Y.M.C.A. work and later to France where with "Jimmie" Yen and others he did welfare work for the Chinese Labor Battalion in World War I. When the Sino-Japanese War broke out he was holding a responsible position in the Central Office of the Bank of China at Shanghai. The Japanese attack forced the family to leave its home in the suburbs and to move into the congested International Settlement. Then came the inevitable separations. Mr. Lin was ordered to Rangoon for important government war service, transportation of supplies over the Burma Road, which he handled with splendid honesty and courage. In November, 1941, he saw his wife and youngest son for a few days at Hongkong; the blackening clouds in the Pacific forced Peter's hasty departure for Rangoon. Priscilla Lin and son engaged

passage for Shanghai but the steamer did not sail. Instead they had to hide in basements during days of fighting and then stay for months with impoverished but hospitable friends before they could rejoin the other three children at Shanghai. "During those days when we could not communicate with the rest of the family and when they were wondering whether we were dead or alive, only Bible reading and prayer, the love of Christian friends, and the peace of God that passes all understanding sustained us." Mrs. Lin found an opportunity to take her family down the coast by junk to Foochow and thence overland — a trip of four months — to Chungking, where they joyfully met Mr. Lin. I saw them often at Chungking, living under wartime conditions, and after the war in crowded Shanghai. Their home was constantly open to American Army men. They were active in relief work and faithful in family prayers and church service. The Lin family — the eldest son is already an M.D. and the other boys are growing up to serve their country as Christians — is a beautiful example of the Christian family that is the foundation of the church in China.

More than half a century ago Huie Kin, the revered pastor of the Chinese Presbyterian Church in New York City, and his American wife started a home that was to become a haven for many famous visitors from China and for Chinese students in America. Their three fine sons married American young women and stayed in the United States. Their six gifted and gracious daughters married Chinese whose names are a roster of notable Christian churchmen and laymen — Mr. Chang Fu-liang, Christian rural leader and now director of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives; the Right Reverend Y. Y. Tsu, known during the war as the "Bishop of the Burma Road"; Dr. James Y. C. Yen, internationally famous pioneer of mass education in China; Dr. Paul C. T. Kwei, eminent

physicist and widely beloved friend of students; the late Professor Henry Chow of Yenching University; Dr. Amos Wang, skillful Shanghai physician. All of them — husbands, wives, and children — “stuck it out” in China during the war with cheerfulness and fortitude. A great Christian clan — now three generations strong — that is serving Christ and China!

There is space to tell you of only a few other notable lay Christians. President Chang Po-ling of the private Nankai University, as famous in China as Arnold of Rugby was in England, a grand old Christian who has molded the character of students for fifty years. Dr. King Chu (Chu Ching-nung), now general manager of the Commercial Press, when war-time commissioner of education in Hunan Province, gave his spare time to helping a weak little church near his office, preaching and leading a Bible study class. There are many consecrated businessmen like K. C. Li, promoter of the Christian Broadcasting Station in Shanghai, and Samuel Ying, owner of large Shanghai bookstores, who shared his income through the war with many pastors in distress. There are nationally famous physicians like Dr. Hou Pao-chang of Cheeloo Medical College and Miss Ting Mei-i, M.D., superintendent of the Tientsin Women's Hospital. Representative of thousands of stanch, humble Christians in widely scattered local churches is Elder Wang of Kashing. The church was his home; his home was a church. He was proud of his well cultivated farm but even prouder of the congregation in which he was a lay leader. Though driven from its sanctuary during the war that congregation did not miss a Sunday of worship together. I asked him whether Japanese soldiers ever bothered him at his country home. “No,” he replied, “the Lord protected us. Whenever I saw enemy soldiers coming, I

kneeled and prayed, then I sicked our dogs on them!" When his children and grandchildren returned from nine years' absence in West China he gave them a welcome feast, led them in a service of thanksgiving, and charged them to remain faithful to Christ; not long afterward, like Jacob of old, he went to his bed, yielded up his spirit to His Maker, and was gathered unto his people.

Several well known government leaders are Christians: President Chiang Kai-shek and his family; Dr. Wang Chung-hui (a pastor's son), international jurist and elder statesman; Dr. Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat-sen; Minister of Finance O. K. Yui and former Minister of Health P. Z. King; Mayor K. C. Wu of Shanghai; Hollington K. Tong of the Government Information Office; and a number of others. Let me tell you the stories of three rather new Christians in public life.

On Sunday mornings in Chengtu, Governor Chang Chun of Szechwan Province, his wife and son, could be seen walking quietly across the campus of West China Union University to attend the Union Church service. Governor Chang had been baptized shortly before the war after years of opposition to Christianity. Now his Christian faith was giving a new motivation, purity, and strength to his official service. Lin Yutang has described him as "one of the ablest minds in the government." He had been an early member of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary party, mayor of Shanghai, governor of Hopeh Province, and minister of foreign affairs (during the difficult two years before the Japanese invasion). During the war he mobilized the fifty million people of Szechwan for army service, for airfield and road construction, and for food production. When the interim coalition government was organized at Nanking in April, 1947, he was made chairman of the Executive Yuan, or premier. At that time he wrote me, "The situa-

tion in China is extremely difficult, and the size of the responsibility that I am about to shoulder is enormous." Baffling problems are testing and strengthening his Christian character. In addresses to various Christian gatherings during and since the war he has repeatedly urged a forward-looking church active in social and national reconstruction. "We should have a united church," he says again and again, "to serve our people. Western denominationalism means little to us here. But China does need Christ."

Madame Chang Chun once gave one of the shortest and most inspiring Christian testimonies I have ever heard. At a youth camp of thousands of Szechwan students she was called on for a speech, after the Governor had spoken eloquently for nearly an hour. Madame Chang is a modest woman and seldom speaks in public. But that day she was stirred by the sight of a great army of youth, largely non-Christian, and in a quiet, impressive voice she said, "A Christian teacher in a mission school where I studied as a girl gave me a guiding principle for life which I have never forgotten and which I want to pass on to you — first God, then others, and last myself."

"I am an old soldier in the Chinese Army. I am a new recruit in the army of Jesus Christ." A fine-looking Chinese officer, in his early fifties, stood before a representative Christian gathering from all parts of Free China and told the story of his conversion. He was General Chang Chih-chung, the intrepid defender of Shanghai in 1932 and again in 1937. Christian friends had often urged him to study the Bible. But it was not until a serious attack of malignant malaria laid him low in Chungking that he seriously considered becoming a Christian. As his strength returned he began to read the Bible and pray, and before he left the hospital asked for baptism. "My whole life passed before me," he said, "in the light of

God. I saw clearly my sins, my failures. I knew that I needed Jesus Christ as my Saviour." It was my privilege to visit often in General Chang's home and to study the Scriptures with him. His discernment of spiritual truth, his keen appreciation of the prophets and of Jesus, his thoughtful and eager questions about Christian beliefs and practices, and his deepening prayer life, astonished many older Christians. He had always been an interesting and forceful speaker to youth. Now his addresses had a new direction and power. His appeals for clean living, devotion to national welfare, service to the common people, and a high faith to undergird character through difficulty and disaster moved all who heard him. He quoted frequently from the Bible. When the Japanese armies made their final, desperate assault upon West China in December, 1944, General Chang visited the ill-fed and ill-clad Chinese soldiers at the front. He returned to Chungking with his heart stirred and immediately promoted the organization of a Morale Officers Corps staffed with Christians to carry out the Generalissimo's hopes of chaplain service in the army. General Chang called for a thousand Christian workers, but alas, we could find only a few tens who were not otherwise engaged. After the war he was appointed governor of the immense and strategic northwest province of Sinkiang, where he has done a remarkably good job, proving himself a clean, honest, progressive official and true Christian. Recently he took the initiative in calling together a group of Christians at Tihwa, capital of Sinkiang, to organize a church. Earnestly he urges that more national and foreign missionaries be sent to the new northwest.

General Fang Chieh-hsien is the hero of the forty-seven-day Hengyang siege. When finally captured by the Japanese he was placed in a mission house where prisoners of war were

kept. He found a Bible and other Christian books and read them eagerly. After three months he made a dramatic escape. Reporting to Generalissimo Chiang back in Chungking, he was greeted with the words, "Ever since you were captured, I have been praying daily for you. I think you should study the Bible and become a Christian. From faith in God you will get strength and wisdom." "Wherever I march with my army," General Fang said, "I find the Christian church doing good and working for the welfare of the people." A few months ago he welcomed missionaries of the Pocket Testament League to preach before the soldiers of his 88th Division, and himself decided to make an open confession of Christian faith. He was baptized in the Presbyterian Church at Suchow by the Reverend "Steadfast-heart" Wang.⁷

What shall we say about the Christian faith and experience of Chiang Kai-shek who told his brave general that he had prayed for him and hoped he would become a fellow-believer? Is the Generalissimo a sincere Christian? A good answer to this question was given not long ago by Madame Chiang when she was asked about the rumors that the Generalissimo might join the Roman Catholic Church for political reasons. She emphatically denied the rumors and added, "The Generalissimo wishes me to say that he embraced Christianity not because of political expediency but because of spiritual convictions."⁸ Listen to some public statements by Chiang Kai-shek. On Easter Sunday, 1938, "We must have not only a new spirit but also the quality of life that is inspired by the love and sacrificial purpose of Jesus. . . . Let us march together toward the Cross for the regeneration of our nation and for the realization of everlasting peace on earth." In a Christian broadcast to wounded and sick soldiers, "As we think of this Saviour of men and of the world, his spirit of sacrifice,

and his martyrdom for the truth, we cannot but be moved. . . . If you truly believe in these principles [faith, hope and love] there will be no difficulty that you cannot overcome. . . . I pray God and Jesus Christ to relieve you speedily of your pain and to restore you to health." In a message to Christians in one of the darkest periods of the war, "I call upon the Christians of our country — of all church groups, Protestant and Catholic — to pray for their country, to set an example of courage and sacrifice, to help awaken the national conscience, to strengthen the fainthearted and encourage the brave. Let us confess before God our own sins and weaknesses of our nation and ask his gracious guidance and protection. . . . Pray to God that he may purify us, strengthen us, and make us worthy of our great heritage." To the National Christian Council in 1943, "We still need missionaries and welcome Christians from other lands who will serve the people of China with true sympathy and devotion. Don't feel that you are our guests. You are comrades working with us to save our people and build a new nation. Let the church identify itself much more intimately with the life and needs of the people." And these words from his Victory Day address on August 15, 1945, "Our faith in justice . . . has today been rewarded. . . . Above all, we join in thanksgiving to our righteous and merciful God. . . . I am deeply moved when I think of the teachings of Jesus Christ. . . . We should not for a moment think of revenge or heap abuses upon the innocent people of Japan. . . . Peace, when fighting has entirely ceased, will confront us with stupendous and difficult tasks, demanding greater strength and sacrifice than the years of war." ⁹

These noble utterances came from a genuine religious conviction and a full acceptance of Christian standards. Disagreement with any of Chiang Kai-shek's political policies or meth-

ods should not blind us to the momentous fact that the leader of this great old civilization struggling to be reborn is an avowed and earnest Christian. When he was baptized by the Reverend Z. T. Kaung in 1930 he made a simple and moving testimony: "I feel the need of a God like Jesus Christ." He studies his Bible from cover to cover and marks it. (Once when we were discussing the Bible he asked the meaning of "Azâzel," which occurs three times in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus!) He prays every day and often several times a day in a room set apart for his private religious devotions. I was present at the Easter service in his home three years ago when his son Chin-kuo, his Russian daughter-in-law, and two grandchildren were baptized. "Now, thank God," said President Chiang with a happy smile, "my whole family is Christian." The Christian world should rejoice that China in her crisis has had such a leader, and pray that he may be given wisdom, grace, and strength to guide his nation aright through the years of rebuilding.

The Chinese church, grateful for the Christian faith of so many government officials, is also aware of the dangers to be avoided. It is resolved to maintain its spiritual independence and to be free from state patronage or control.

I am tempted to mention a number of outstanding men and women in China today who are not yet professing Christians but who are seeking earnestly for religious truth and power. Some of these are persons of rich learning, noble character, and winsome spirit, who are struggling with perplexities and doubts or who laughingly call themselves "heathen" to hide a deep spiritual yearning within. They are "not far from the kingdom of God." May the Holy Spirit lead them in!

CHAPTER EIGHT

WITHIN FOUR SEAS

WE ARE FAMILIAR WITH THE FAMOUS WORDS OF CONFUCIUS, "Within the four seas all are brothers." These words have a context that is not so well known but that has a message for us today. "Let the superior man (or moral man)," said Confucius, "order his way carefully and reverently, respect the rights of others, and observe the laws of courtesy — *then* all within the four seas will be his brothers. Why should the superior man grieve that he has no brothers?" Just what Confucius meant by the four seas we cannot be sure, but I believe that if he were living today he would say the seas around Asia or the "seven seas of the world." We can further apply his teaching by declaring that it is among the moral men of the Confucian ideal in all nations — and as Christians we add "among men of faith and good will of the Christian ideal" — that world unity and peace will become a reality.

We have seen what an important place China holds in Asia and what a vital role she is destined to play in the coming century of the Pacific. Her geographical position and area, her immense population and stirring potentialities make her a key nation. China's culture has pervaded the continent of Asia, and even if this culture seems to be disintegrating in the midst of today's turmoil its seeds will revitalize the life and thought of the Chinese themselves and be scattered far and wide over the earth. The future of China is especially significant because as goes China so probably will go Asia and the world.

Dr. Walter H. Judd, former missionary to China and now Congressman from Minnesota, has said that there are four ways for Asia to go: (1) Asia might revert to a colonial status but that would mean constant revolutions and explosions. Nineteenth century colonialism is obsolete and we must not support new empires no matter who tries to establish them. (2) Asia may become racially conscious and rise in antagonism to the white races. In an interracial struggle the yellow and brown peoples of Asia could outwork, outsuffer, and outbreed the white man. (3) Asia may be persuaded or coerced to follow the communist pattern; a new imperialism would then arise. Russia today is the strongest power in Europe and Asia; if it should win over all Asia we would face the greatest concentration of human and material resources in all history. (4) The fourth way would be good will and cooperation between Asia and the rest of the world, which in turn should respect the territorial integrity, political and economic freedom, and human rights of Asia's awakening nations and peoples.¹

China wants to be friendly to all her neighbors in Asia. With most of them relations were strengthened and improved by the war. Despite intense Japanese propaganda India's sympathies were increasingly for China. Rabindranath Tagore expressed the feeling of many Indians when he wrote his friend Naguchi, the Japanese poet, "I wish your people whom I love not victory but remorse." For three months we had the privilege of entertaining in our Chengtu home Professor C. E. Abraham of Serampore University, Calcutta, a minister of the old Syrian Church of South India. His visit to China as exchange professor and representative of the National Christian Council of India, and the return visits to India of Chinese Christian leaders, sealed the new Christian brotherhood of two ancient civilizations.

The Soviet Union was China's co-belligerent and late in the war ally against Japan, but its general international policy since the war and the insurgent activities of the Chinese Communists make the future of Sino-Russian relations extremely problematical. It is unfortunate that there are not closer cultural relations between the two peoples and an exchange of educated and professional leaders. The Russian language should be taught in Chinese schools as well as English, especially in provinces on the northern border.

In her Madison Square Garden speech Madame Chiang Kai-shek urged a "peace without hatred." China seeks no vindictive peace settlement with her fifty-year enemy Japan. But she does want, from all indications, the Japanese people to live but Japanese militarism to die.²

President Chiang Kai-shek said during the war that China did not want to inherit "the mantle of an unworthy Japan" and become military leader of Asia. "We must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliance and regional blocs, which in the end make for bigger and more terrible wars, to the effective organization of world unity. Unless real world cooperation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us."³ China is determined to protect the fruit of victory, her hard-won freedom. She wants to be China, not satellite of some other country. Her peace-loving, industrious, patient, resilient people must not be pressed into any preconceived mold or ideological pattern; they must not be made the unwilling pawns, the reluctant tools of any other nation or bloc of nations. They can serve the world best as a constructive, mediating influence if they are not drawn into a Russian, American, British, or any other sphere of influence. They have their own unique contribution

to make to Asia and to the world community, a contribution that they can make only if they are free. China thus becomes a pivot of peace in Asia and the world.

One of the most hopeful developments in modern China is the great interest in cultural interchange with other lands. There is no "curtain." China knows that she has much to give in art, literature, science, and philosophy. Much of China's rich literature has been translated into Western languages; much more has yet to be translated and made available to the world. China is supplying the United States Department of Agriculture with a greater variety of new food plants, fruits, and botanical specimens than any other country.⁴ New York and other states, for example, are using "Wang barley," a highly resistant winter strain developed in West China by a Chinese agriculturalist. Chinese scientists and mathematicians are winning increasing respect abroad, and I believe that we may look for some interesting discoveries and inventions from China in the next few decades.⁵ China's architectural renaissance, embodying a synthesis of old Chinese forms and modern construction materials and methods, is attracting world-wide attention. China's ancient philosophy with its distinctive emphasis upon social and ethical relations has a universal value. Dr. John Leighton Stuart has compared China's genius for morality with the Roman genius for law, the Greek genius for beauty, and the Hebrew genius for religion.⁶ China is proud of her past and yet eagerly receptive to scientific and cultural influences from abroad. The whole Bible was translated into Chinese more than a century ago and since then much other literature from the Occident. Recently Professor Tsao Wei-feng completed his translation of all Shakespeare's plays.⁷ Nothing that belongs to the other nations of Asia or of the West is now foreign to China; the

only question is what China will select and how she will use it in relation to her own problems and needs. What is best in China belongs to the world; and the best in the world will belong to China.

CHINA'S DESTINY

In 1943 President Chiang Kai-shek wrote a book, *China's Destiny*, which provoked considerable discussion at home and abroad. Chiang's aim was to explain the significance of the new treaties signed with the United States and Great Britain, to encourage national pride and determination, and to outline a ten-year program of postwar reconstruction. If this can be carried out, China will move rapidly into a modern, industrial machine age, as the Soviet Union has done. A crucial question is, does China have the resources to become a great modern power like Russia? She has the man power but it has to be trained for scientific agricultural production and for technological production. Some way must be found to limit China's population growth if living standards are to be appreciably raised. Chinese agriculture is entangled with a medieval economic system that is in need of reform. Industrial raw materials are evidently not sufficient in quantity or well enough distributed to make China a strong industrial nation like the United States or Great Britain. China will certainly be industrialized and produce an increasing amount of consumer goods, but for a century to come agriculture and food production will be as important as factories. Exports of tungsten, wood oil, and other native products or manufactures must be increased so that China can pay for what she needs to buy abroad. A great development in modern transport and communications and in public utilities may be expected. Education of adults, as well as of children and youth, is a prime

need. Good government — efficient, clean, and for the welfare of the people — should be a goal rather than too rapid extension of Anglo-Saxon Western democratic processes that might be abused among a people not fully prepared for it. All of our elected officials are not necessarily good officials! But education for democracy must go on.⁸

China is a great civilization which, if imbued with a new spirit, may give to the world a cultural inspiration and moral leadership needed far more than electric dynamos or atomic energy. "Life springs from sorrow and calamity, and death from ease and pleasure," said Mencius. Perhaps China through these tragic decades is being prepared to receive from God and to give to the world a new life. The lines from China's old *Book of Odes* would then be prophetic:

Although Chow was an old country,
It received a new destiny.

This new destiny, let us pray, would be a unified China, a democratic-socialist state, an agricultural-industrial economy for the benefit of all classes, an active and helpful role in the world community, and a regenerated, Christian people. But a better future for China cannot be realized apart from a better world and a stronger Christian world fellowship. China will become a far greater nation in a world of peace than in a world of war.

SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The Indian leader Nehru has said, "The next century does not belong to the countries of Europe but to the United States and a rejuvenated Asia." If this is true, the policy of the United States and Canada and other democracies toward Asia and especially China is supremely important. We cannot, we must

not withdraw from China our interest, our friendship, our relief and constructive aid, our support of liberal and integrating forces, our missionary witness and service. We should not leave China to Russia or any other one power; China needs the whole world. We shall have to give liberally for years to rehabilitation in China. The United States was during the war the arsenal of democracy; it must be in peace the granary of relief. We must continue to send missionaries, physicians, teachers, engineers, social workers, agriculturalists, and preachers. And not only missionaries but more Christian businessmen, technicians, diplomats, and educational representatives who can interpret and transmit the best of our culture to the people of China. A good Christian businessman in China is a tremendous asset to Sino-American friendship and to the Christian cause. Certain influences negate what Christians are trying to do. "Some of your American motion pictures," one Chinese friend wrote me recently, "undo the good that many missionaries accomplish." We may ask, how Christian is our national example and influence, the impact of our political, social, economic, and cultural life upon China and Asia? China, it is true, needs our capital, our machinery, our technical skills, our business efficiency. She also needs good men, world-minded men, Christian men to help in administering this aid so that what we do will encourage China's self-respect and self-reliance, promote good will between nations, and further China's contribution to the world community.

A new era for Christian missions in Asia is dawning. Christianity is called to be a liberating, renewing, and fructifying force in that old-new continent. It should become a spiritual bond between the best in East and West. George Russell said in *The Living Torch* that if there is to be a new renaissance comparable to that which came from the wedding of Chris-

tianity with the Greek and Latin culture, it must come from a second wedding of Christianity with the culture of the East.⁹ Canon Barnett, founder of Toynbee Hall in London and a great social worker of the last generation, said on his deathbed, "The progress of the whole world depends on how Christianity is presented to the Chinese."¹⁰ Many Chinese and Indian writers also are stressing the significance of this twentieth century meeting of Christian and Eastern thought. Some say that only a world faith like Christianity can save the world from a disastrous clash some day between East and West. That is the negative side. Positively the enrichment of both world culture and world Christianity by the meeting of East and West will write one of the most thrilling chapters yet in world history.

PRESENT OPPORTUNITIES

Upon such a background our responsibility as American Christians is crystal clear. We have a stake in China and in Asia, a Christian stake. We have a Christian responsibility to China as a nation and a people. We should assist generously in the rebuilding of the Chinese church after these years of fire and death. I have read about twenty reports of mission board deputations that visited China after the war. All stressed the great opportunity for missions now: Dr. Lloyd S. Ruland calls it "an opportunity without precedent in the Christian missionary enterprise."¹¹ The partnership between our missions and the Chinese churches must be reinforced, the missions decreasing in authority, the churches increasing. New evangelistic adventures may be undertaken by missionaries and Chinese Christians together: in the rebuilt commercial and industrial centers, in the million villages of the land, among the eager student class, in the armies, in the factories, for the

six million blind and other handicapped groups, and on the far-flung western and northern frontiers. There are five immense northwestern provinces — Sinkiang, Suiyuan, Kansu, Ningsia and Tsinghai — with a population of eighteen million, but only one Christian hospital, no Christian colleges or middle schools, and relatively few scattered Christian churches. And in the rest of China there are thousands of untouched cities and towns, millions of people who have not yet heard the Christian message.

One way to reach Russia again with the Christian gospel and to bring about the religious revival there that is so essential for world peace, is through the Sino-Soviet border. There is Sinkiang Province with its nine hundred miles of common frontier with the U.S.S.R. and one point only one hundred miles from the Trans-Siberian Railway. Can we help the Chinese church to Christianize that border?

More leaders must be enlisted, trained, and inspired for the Chinese church, both professional leaders and lay leaders. The work of the missionary is temporary; Chinese nationals are the permanent staff of the church and its institutions. This underscores the importance of Christian colleges and middle schools, medical, agricultural, and engineering schools, theological seminaries, and Bible schools. The American Methodist Church is celebrating in 1947-48 a century of mission work in China, but it is not living only in its glorious past. It is building for the future by bringing scores of young Christian leaders from China to America each year for refreshment and further study. We must prepare leadership for the coming generation.

A reservoir of liberal and Christian leadership for China is the student group in North America. More Chinese students have come here for overseas study than to any other part of the Western world. Before the war about two thousand

Chinese students were enrolled annually in the United States; the number dropped during the war but in 1945-46 had risen to 1,488, more than from any other country except Canada.¹² From now on the number will steadily rise. Through our friendship, encouragement, and Christian helpfulness to this group today we can do much for China tomorrow.

The Chinese church is part of the emerging world church. We may thank God for the growing unity in the Chinese church. Protestant missions have naturally worked through denominational channels. But Western denominational differences have a value in China only as they mediate some important emphasis in historical Christianity. The Chinese church should be free to develop in its own way — with room for variations in organization and administration, forms of worship, interpretations of Scripture, types of fellowship and service — so long as it is loyal to one God the Father, his Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

Bishop Z. T. Kaung of Peiping writes, "We need a united church — both in personnel and finance — to meet this great task. The success or failure to make a Christian China depends upon the Christian leadership available. If we should fail again, the failure would be fatal. God has given us this opportunity. Our churches here and the older churches abroad must work closely together and go forward to a new realization of the kingdom of God in China. God grant that this may be done."¹³ The Chinese church challenges our American and Canadian Protestant churches to a greater unity and deeper missionary devotion. Out of poverty today our Chinese fellow-Christians are giving liberally for the rebuilding of schools, hospitals, and churches, for the restoration of the church program, and for new advance. We are giving and could give far more. Of the one billion dollars contributed by Americans in

1946 for all religious purposes about one-twentieth or fifty millions went to foreign missions and overseas relief. This is about one dollar per Protestant and Catholic Christian or forty cents — less than the price of a movie ticket — from every man, woman, and child in the United States. At the height of World War II we were spending more than a thousand dollars a year from every citizen on our army, navy, and air force. Miracles would indeed happen if we should take Christian missions seriously as an investment in world peace and brotherhood, and should give money and men, energy and prayer, for a free Christian Asia in the way that we gave during the war for freedom from a pagan Axis!

“And a highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness . . . the redeemed shall walk there,” said the prophet Isaiah.¹⁴ Christian missions after Christ followed the Roman roads of the Mediterranean world and the old trade routes across Asia. When new seaways were opened up in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries explorers and traders, colonists and adventurers, and also Christian missionaries followed these. The inland railways and highways of the nineteenth century opened up vast new areas to the Christian missionary. Now we have come to an air age, bringing many new contacts but also new conflicts. The new airways may be bonds or barriers of friendship; they may help to weave the pattern of a world family and world faith or they may turn the sky into a battlefield of unending global war. Let us make the highways between nations today, on the land, over the sea, and in the air, highways of holiness, highways of friendship, highways of service and sacrifice, highways where the redeemed shall walk, highways of his kingdom. Build Christian highways, highways for God, to the new China and the new Asia!

NOTES AND REFERENCES

FOREWORD

1. From *The Chinese, Their History and Culture*, by Kenneth Scott Latourette, rev. ed., p. 816. Copyright 1934 and 1946 by The Macmillan Co. and used with their permission.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Okakura Kakuzo, quoted in "Asia the Economic Battlefield," by J. F. Normano, in *Asia and the Americas*, June, 1944.
2. *The Discovery of India*, by Jawaharlal Nehru, p. 193. New York, John Day Co., 1946.
3. *One World*, by Wendell Willkie. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1943.
4. *China* (United Nations Series), edited by Harley Farnsworth MacNair. Chapter VIII, by K. A. Wittfogel, tells of these "dynasties of conquest." University of California Press, 1946.
5. "Asia the Economic Battlefield," by J. F. Normano, in *Asia and the Americas*, June, 1944, p. 273.
6. *Solution in Asia*, by Owen Lattimore, p. 3. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1945. Used by permission.

CHAPTER TWO

1. "The Chinese — Leaders of Asia," by Vincent Sheean, in *Asia*, March, 1942, p. 143. Used by permission of *United Nations World*.
2. Reprinted from *Mansions of Philosophy*, by Will Durant, p. 645. New York, copyright, 1929, by Simon & Schuster, Inc. Used by permission.
3. "Old China and New," by John Dewey, in *Asia*, May, 1921, p. 445. Used by permission of *United Nations World*.
4. For an incisive account of white imperialism in Asia, see *White Man, Yellow Man*, by Arva C. Floyd. New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1946.

CHAPTER THREE

1. *Hebrews* 12:27. From the Revised Standard Version.
2. Percentages are based on figures from *23rd Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operation*, for the period that ended September 31, 1946. Department of State Publications 2707.
3. According to the official report of the National Government there were 3,750,408 military casualties and 9,134,569 civilian casualties.
4. Quoted in *The China Monthly*, March, 1945, p. 13. Used by permission.
5. These figures include railway mileage in Manchuria, but not that in Formosa that has now been returned to China. See *China's Struggle*

- for *Railroad Development*, by Chang Chia-ao, pp. 86 and 148. New York, John Day Co., 1943.
6. The story of this spectacular engineering achievement is brilliantly recounted in *The Building of the Burma Road*, by T'an Pei-ying. New York, Whittlesey House, copyright 1945 by the author.
 7. *Ibid*, Ch. III. Used by permission.
 8. "90-Day Miracle," by Bernard W. Crandall, in *American Magazine*, December, 1944, p. 149.
 9. *Stand By for China*, by Gordon Poteat, p. 156. New York, Friendship Press, 1940.
 10. *The Collected Wartime Messages of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. II, pp. 850-51. New York, John Day Co., 1946. Used by permission of Chinese News Service, copyright holders.
 11. *Chungking Listening Post*, by Mark Tennien, Introduction. New York, Creative Age Press, 1945. Used by permission.
 12. *China*, by Kwok Ying Fung, with photographs arranged and edited by Fritz Henle, Dedication. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1943. Used by permission.
 13. Theodore White in *United Service to China Envoy*, December, 1946, Used by permission.
 14. *Philippians* 1:12.
 15. *The Story of the Confederacy*, by Robert Selph Henry, pp. 330 ff., rev. ed. New York, The New Home Library, 1943.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. The Japanese Army surprisingly honored Sun Yat-sen and protected his tomb.
2. Dr. John Leighton Stuart, the first missionary to be appointed American ambassador to China, was born at Hangchow, China, in 1876.
3. Lt. Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer was commander of the U. S. Forces in the China Theater from October, 1944, to May, 1946, and chief of staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.
4. The Communist-occupied area included, in October, 1947, two-thirds of the northeastern provinces (Manchuria), two-thirds of Hopeh, three-fifths of Shantung, three-fifths of Shansi, one-fourth of Honan, one-fifth of Shensi, one-third of Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan, and some parts of Hupeh and Anhwei.
5. *China's Economic and Financial Reconstruction*, papers submitted to the Committee on International Economic Policy in Cooperation with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1947, by Arthur N. Young, is an excellent analysis of China's postwar economic problems by a former adviser to the Chinese Ministry of Finance.
6. The amount promised China was \$535 million in American money; up to August, 1947, about \$410 million worth of supplies had been shipped to China. See *Voices of China*, Chinese Radio News Service, August 20, 1947.
7. See *The United States Moves across the Pacific*, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York, Harper & Bros., 1946.

8. *China's New Democracy*, by Mao Tsê-tung, full Chinese text published by Yen-an Emancipation Press, expurgated English translation by Earl Browder; New York, New Century Pubs., 1945. Digest with comments by Lin Yutang; New York, Chinese News Service, 1947. *The Fight for a New China*, by Mao Tsê-tung. New York, New Century Pubs., 1945.
9. E. g., *Red Star over China*, by Edgar Snow; New York, Random House, 1938. *China Fights Back*, by Agnes Smedley; New York, Vanguard Press, 1938. *Battle Hymn of China*, by Agnes Smedley; New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1943. *Report from Red China*, by Harrison Forman; New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1945.
10. These letters and reports are on file, but, as a measure of protection to the writers, their names are not published.
11. MacNair, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
12. "Farm Tenancy in China," by J. L. Buck, in *Economic Facts*, published by the University of Nanking Dept. of Agricultural Economics, June-July, 1944, pp. 469-497.
13. Report and editorial in *The New York Times*, November 21, 1946.
14. A recent poll by two Shanghai newspapers revealed strong opposition to the civil war, to certain features of the new constitution, and to many government policies. The great majority objected to interference by any foreign power in China's internal affairs and declared that China must settle her own disputes. Only 9.5 per cent favored American-Soviet mediation such as proposed by Theodore H. White, and only 8 per cent United Nations mediation. One striking result was the evidence of the continued prestige of Chiang Kai-shek, in spite of criticisms of his government.
15. This comprises James Yen's Mass Education group, Liang Shu-ming's Village Government group, the late Heng-chih Tao's Education-for-all-Movement, and the young National College of Social Education.
16. Letter to the author, dated August 24, 1947.
17. Quotation from an original poem by Joseph Auslander, written especially for a series of War Bond advertisements published by the Hecht Co., Washington, D. C. Used by permission.
18. An example of such critical writing is *Thunder out of China*, by Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby. New York, William Sloane Associates, 1946.
19. Saying attributed to Edmund Burke.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Data from *Ch'ang Yung Tze Hsuan*, a study of the frequency of Chinese characters, by Tsai Lo-shan, Ph. D. of the University of Nanking, published in Chinese by the Dept. of Education, Szechwan Provincial Government.
2. MacNair, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Used by permission.
3. MacNair, *op. cit.* See, for example, Chap. XIII, "Chinese Thought," by Hu Shih.

4. John Leighton Stuart in *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems of Thought and Life*, Part 3, p. 8. Volume I of Jerusalem Series, based on Meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem in 1928.
5. Chiang Kai-shek, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 174. Used by permission.
6. A good example is an article "The Trouble with China is Confucius," by Herrymon Maurer, in *Fortune*, April, 1947.
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8. Translation by Frank W. Price.
9. Translation by Frank W. Price.
10. *The Chinese Mind*, by Gung-hsing Wang, p. 152. New York, John Day Co., 1946. Used by permission.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
12. Y. C. Yang, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-81. Used by permission.
13. *China Magazine*, September, 1947, p. 25.
14. *Can Christianity Save Civilization?* by Walter Marshall Horton, pp. 146-47. New York, Harper & Bros., 1940. Used by permission.

CHAPTER SIX

1. *II Corinthians* 12:10.
2. Most of the articles written thus far on the experiences of Chinese Christians in Occupied China are in the Chinese language. *China Suffers*, by E. M. Wampler, is a story of the Shansi Church in the early years of Japanese occupation. Elgin, Ill., Brethren Pub. Co., 1945.
3. See "The Christian Church in Occupied China," by Chester S. Miao, in *International Review of Missions*, July, 1946.
4. *I Peter* 1:1.
5. See *On Foot to Freedom*, by Newton Chiang. New York, Friendship Press, 1945.
6. *Revelation* 1:9.
7. See *China's Borderlands and Beyond*, by C. C. Crisler, Review and Herald Publishing Association, Takoma Park Station, Washington, D. C., and *Christian Voices in China*, edited by Chester S. Miao, Part III, chap. 7, by W. B. Djang; Friendship Press, New York, 1948.
8. From the Revised Standard Version.
9. "Our Work in Tsung Fa Area," by Annie James. Information Service of the Christian Church in China Kwangtung Synod, June, 1946.
10. Catholic relief work is finely described in *Chungking Listening Post*, by Mark Tennien. New York, Creative Age Press, 1945.
11. *Wide Open Doors*, report of the China Inland Mission for 1946, p. 12.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 53-54.
13. "Discussions and Recommendations," National Christian Council of China, Twelfth Biennial Meeting, Shanghai, Dec. 1946.
14. Letter of Gertrude Hoy, in the *Messenger*, Nov. 26, 1946. Used by permission.
15. Psalm 126:1, 2.

16. From the *Report of the Deputation of the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland to Manchuria*, March-April, 1946.
17. Dr. Earle H. Ballou of Peiping in letter to the author, July 8, 1947.
18. Adapted from *II Corinthians* 4:8, 9, a Scripture passage much quoted by Chinese Christians during the war.
19. *Report of Miss Ortha M. Lane*, American Methodist missionary in North China.
20. The total number of students in 1936-37 was 6,424; in 1940-41 it was 8,112; in 1946-47 it was 12,327.
21. From Statement adopted by the National Christian Council of China at its Twelfth Biennial Meeting, Shanghai, Dec., 1946. Used by permission.
22. Quoted in letter to author from Dr. M. T. Rankin, secretary of the Southern Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, May 22, 1947, following his return from China.
23. *China in the Sun*, by Randall Gould, p. 302. New York, Doubleday & Co., 1946. Used by permission. The whole of Chap. 13, "Have Christian Missions a China Future?" is worth reading.
24. *The Worth of a Life*, memorial of Robert and Dorothy Vick, by Jesse R. Wilson. New York, American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 1947. Used by permission.
25. *II Corinthians* 4:5.
26. See *Matthew* 12:20, 21.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. In Chinese names the surname, usually one syllable, comes first, followed by the given name, which is generally two syllables. Many Chinese use among Western friends an anglicized form, with initials or English name coming first, followed by the surname.
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3. *The Spirit of Chinese Culture*, by Francis Cho-min Wei. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947.
4. *Christian World Mission*, pp. 231-32. Nashville, Commission on Ministerial Training of the Methodist Church, 1946. Used by permission.
5. Letter to the author from Bishop Z. T. Kaung, April 25, 1947.
6. Dr. C. Y. Cheng (Cheng Ching-yi) was probably the greatest Protestant leader that China has yet produced.
7. *Wide Open Doors*, p. 80, and letter from the Rev. Frank Brown, Suchow, May, 1947.
8. Cable to author from Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Dec. 23, 1946.
9. Chiang Kai-shek, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 62, vol. II, pp. 772-75, 812-13, 850-51. Used by permission. Address to National Christian Council of China, from N. C. C. records and A. P. dispatch, May 18, 1943.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Notes by author on address of Dr. Walter H. Judd at Montreat, N. C., August, 1946.

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5. An example of this recognition is the annual award of the American Association for the Study of Internal Secretions, which was given in 1947 to Dr. Li Choh-hao, age 34, University of Nanking graduate, for his work in biochemistry.
6. Quoted in *China and Educational Autonomy*, by Alice Gregg, p. vii. Syracuse University Press, 1946.
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8. For a valuable study of China's economic potentials, resources for military power, and problems of agricultural and industrial development, see *China among the Powers*, by David N. Rowe. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945.
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11. In *Report of the Deputation of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, 1946.
12. *Information Service*, Federal Council of Churches, March 29, 1947.
13. From a letter of Bishop Z. T. Kaung to the author, April 25, 1947.
14. *Isaiah* 35:8, 9.

A SELECTED READING LIST

The author of *China — Twilight or Dawn?* is not responsible for this list, but suggestions from him and from other leaders have been included. The purpose of this brief list is to suggest recent and available books to provide background for this study and to offer opportunity for further exploration in related fields. The views expressed in the several books are not necessarily in harmony with those of the author and the publishers of this volume.

This is a very brief reading list selected from more than two hundred recent books on China and the Far East.

I. *Asia-General*

ASIAN LEGACY AND AMERICAN LIFE, THE, by Arthur E. Christy. New York, John Day Co., 1945. \$3.50.

ASIA'S LAND AND PEOPLES, by George B. Cressey. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1944. \$6.00.

INTELLIGENT AMERICAN'S GUIDE TO THE PEACE, AN, edited by Sumner Welles. New York, The Dryden Press, 1945. \$3.75.

REVOLT OF ASIA, THE, by Robert Payne. New York, John Day Co., 1947. \$3.50.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST, A, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1946. \$6.00.

SOLUTION IN ASIA, by Owen Lattimore. Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1945. \$2.00.

WISDOM OF CHINA AND INDIA, THE, by Lin Yutang. New York, Random House, 1942. \$3.95.

II. *China — Description, History, Culture*

CHINA (United Nations Series), edited by Harley Farnsworth McNair. University of California Press, 1946.

CHINA'S GEOGRAPHIC FOUNDATIONS, by George B. Cressey. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934. \$5.00.

CHINESE, THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE, THE, by Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York, The Macmillan Co., rev. ed., 1946. \$7.00.

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FORGING A NEW CHINA, by Lawrence K. Rosinge. Headline Series No. 67. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1948. 35 cents.

OUR NEIGHBORS, THE CHINESE, by Vaughan White. Rinehart & Co., 1946. \$2.75.

III. *The Sino-Japanese War*

BATTLE FOR ASIA, THE, by Edgar Snow. New York, Random House, 1941. \$3.75.

CHINA IN THE SUN, by Randall Gould. New York, Doubleday & Co., 1946. \$3.50.

COLLECTED WARTIME MESSAGES OF GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK, THE, 1937-45. New York, John Day Co., 1946. \$7.50.

THUNDER OUT OF CHINA, by Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby. New York, William Sloane Associates, 1946. \$3.50.

VIGIL OF A NATION, THE, by Lin Yutang. New York, John Day Co., 1945. \$2.75.

IV. *China — Politics, International Problems, Problems of Peace*

CHALLENGE OF RED CHINA, THE, by Guenther Stein. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1945. \$3.50.

CHINA AMONG THE POWERS, by David N. Rowe. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945. \$2.00.

CHINA LOOKS FORWARD, by Sun Fo. New York, John Day Co., 1944. \$3.00.

CHINA'S CRISIS, by L. K. Rosinger. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. \$3.00.

CHINA'S DESTINY, by Chiang Kai-shek. Translated by Wang Chung-hui. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1947. \$2.75.

FUTURE OF FREEDOM IN THE ORIENT, by Ralph Coniston. New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1947. \$3.00.

V. *Social and Economic Problems, Education, Medicine, Etc.*

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY, by Olga Lang. New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1946. \$4.00.

CHINESE VILLAGE, A: TAITOU, SHANTUNG PROVINCE, by M. Yang. New York, Columbia University Press, 1946. \$3.00.

DOCTORS EAST, DOCTORS WEST, by Edward H. Hume. New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1946. \$3.00.

EARTHBOUND CHINA (Yunnan), by Hsiao-t'ung Fei and Tse-i Chang. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945. \$3.75.

FAMILY LIFE IN WEST CHINA, by Irma Highbaugh. New York, Agricultural Missions Inc., 1948. \$2.00.

I SEE A NEW CHINA, by George Hogg. Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1944. \$2.50.

TELL THE PEOPLE, by Pearl Buck. New York, John Day Co., 1945. \$1.50.

VI. *Philosophy and Religion*

CHINA'S RELIGIOUS HERITAGE, by Y. Yang. Nashville, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943. \$1.50.

GAY GENIUS, THE, LIFE AND TIMES OF SU TUNG-PO, by Lin Yutang. New York, John Day Co., 1947. \$2.50.

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WISDOM OF CONFUCIUS, THE, by Lin Yutang. New York, Modern Library, Inc., 1938. \$1.25.

VII. *Christianity in China*

CHUNGKING LISTENING POST, by Mark Tennien. New York, Creative Age Press, 1945. \$2.50. (Catholic missions.)

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA, A, by Kenneth S. Latourette. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1929. \$3.50.

RURAL CHURCH IN CHINA, THE, by Frank W. Price. New York, Agricultural Missions Inc., 1948. \$2.00.

VIII. *Biography*

CHIANG KAI-SHEK, ASIA'S MAN OF DESTINY, by H. H. Chang. New York, Doubleday & Co., 1944. \$3.50.

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